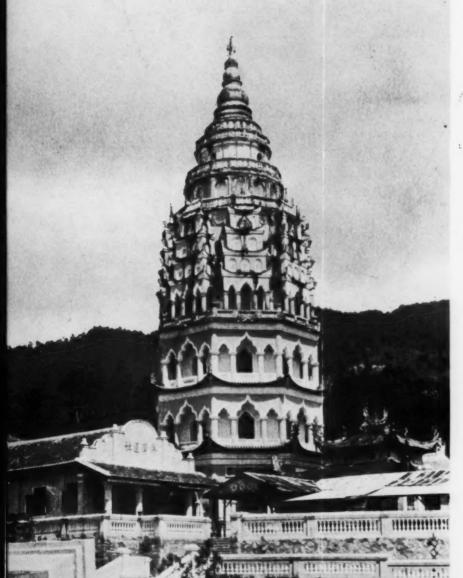
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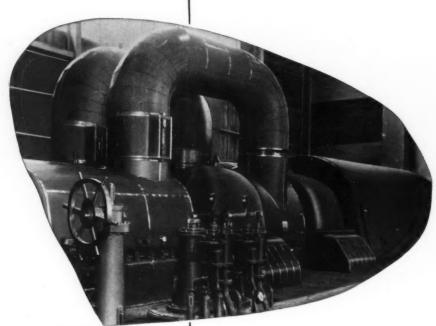
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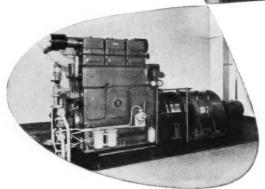
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Ayer Itam Chinese Pagoda, Penang, Malaya (Photo: F. Slade)

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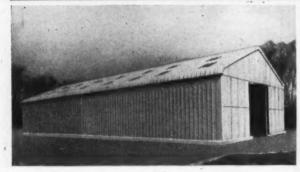
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EASTERN WORLD

MR. RHEE'S OFFER

THE latest undiplomatic bombshell in the Far East this month has been President Syngman Rhee's generous offer to send one division of South Korean troops to Indo-China. The gesture, as such, reminds one of the times when absolute monarchs either lent or sold their soldiery like chattels whenever and wherever they thought fit. President Rhee, as is well known, is a fervent believer in democracy and we must, therefore, presume that the South Korean troops are just itching to get into action again, after having suffered for several months under the vicissitudes of the truce. If the South Korean troops (which, incidentally, were equipped and trained by the United States for the purpose of defending Korea) are so eager to fight-which we doubt-then they are the only ones to do so. Public opinion in America is very much against being openly committed in the Viet Nam theatre of war; the French are eagerly awaiting an opportunity to extricate themselves at the earliest possible face-saving opportunity; and the Vietnamese troops have given proof of their attitude by mass desertions. Some have gone over to the enemy, and others, as Nguyen Van Hinh, Chief of Staff of the Vietnamese Army explained on February 16th, "have been homesick and just gone home." President Rhee's offer which, according to his Foreign Minister, Mr. Pyun Yung-tai, was "a symbol of anti-Communist solidarity in the Far East." was not conveyed to the Vietnamese or even to the French. but to the Americans. General Hull, the American Commander in the Far East and United Nations Commander in Korea, discussed the matter with President Rhee and carried the message to Washington when he went there for a 10-day "routine" visit last month. There, however, opinions were divided and the offer met with marked lack of enthusiasm from the State Department. While it is true that the US are now financing the Vietnamese adventure on a large scale and sending B-26 bomber aircraft and hundreds of military advisers and technicians, they still hesitate to allow themselves to be involved to such a degree that it may provoke the participation of China on Ho Chi Minh's side. General Hull, on the other hand, said in Washington that the Korean action would "have certain advantagesfor instance an Asiatic country coming to the assistance of another Asiatic country." This is perfectly true: if the South Koreans help their fellow Asians, there is no reason why the North Koreans should not help their fellow Asians too, only on the other side of the front, and if this would precipitate American (or "United Nations") intervention, the Chinese on their part would almost certainly help their Asian brothers. Then we would have Korea all over again, and President Rhee would have the satisfaction of seeing the war not only continued, but continued outside his own territory—that is if the absence of his troops would not provoke another North Korean attack thus forcing his allies to fight a world war on many fronts.

The only reason for faint optimism is the unmistakable sign that the French are beginning to realise their position and that, if another opportunity should offer itself, they may be prepared to yield to public opinion in France and to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh, perhaps on the lines of a partition of the country with a Viet Minh state in the north and the present régime in the south.

ARMINĞ PAKISTAN

THE treaty between Pakistan and Turkey, concluded in Ankara while part of the American 5th Fleet happened to visit Turkish ports, is the first step towards the longawaited cordon sanitaire which the United States have laboured so hard to establish in the Middle East as the western prong of an anti-Communist defence system in Asia. The Middle East defence ring will, it is true, establish a reasonable defence for the American interests in the Arabian oilfields. The new arrangement will make it easier to supply Pakistan with arms, not directly from the US, but via Turkey, and will achieve a number of simultaneous results. It will antagonise the USSR which sees the establishment of an elaborate arsenal around her southern borders; it will frighten Israel as she will be surrounded by heavily armed and not always friendly neighbours who may feel tempted to practise their weapons on her; it will annoy the Arab League as it will lose bargaining powers vis-à-vis Britain; it will alarm Afghanistan as she will find herself included in a defence ring against her will. Most of all, it will be regarded by India as a serious potential menace. Pandit Nehru and other prominent Indian spokesmen have repeatedly stressed that they would consider military aid to Pakistan as a threat to their country's security. India will eventually be forced to devote a large proportion of her national income to her own rearmament, instead of carrying out her plans for the raising of the living standards of the population.

Indo-Pakistan relations have improved visibly since Mr. Mohammed Ali's accession to the premiership, and it looks as though US interference is trying to disrupt successfully any possible harmony on the sub-continent. India's neutralist policy constitutes one of the strongest assets in the Commonwealth and helps to maintain it as a third factor in world power balances. It is obvious that America considers this attitude a serious obstacle to her own designs and that, in order to counterbalance this, she has either to create a geographically well placed military puppet, or at least to provide for bases from which she can conveniently control or try to control—developments in India. Thus military aid to Pakistan is affecting the Commonwealth as a whole by endangering its equilibrium. It would be short-sighted to sacrifice Commonwealth interests on the altar of Anglo-American relations, and it seems urgently desirable to discuss the matter at a Commonwealth Conference.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

ARLIAMENT returns to a heavy programme and there is a possibility of the Government having to face many difficulties in home affairs. On the industrial front, the demand for pay increases to meet the cost of living grows more vociferous and active. The increasing pressure for higher standards of living in the underdeveloped areas in the Colonies and the Far East no longer makes it so easy for Western Europe to follow the traditional methods of staving off social discontent at home by adventures abroad. In a vague kind of way most of us here at Westminster seem to realise this, but we are only gradually learning of the difficulties that we thus have to face. Both Westminster and Washington appear to be groping for a clear policy not only in relation to Asia but also in relation to Europe. Here in London I can find plenty of MPs who are not so certain that the "Cold War" has been a success for the democracies.

Had the "Cold War" been successful would there have been the demand that we see in both Houses here for the relaxation of controls in East-West trade? In Lords and Commons more and more questions are being asked about facilities to trade with China. Lord Killearn wanted to know what facilities and formalities there are for British industrialists to visit China to explore the possibilities of obtaining orders. Lord Elibank drew the attention of the Government to the classified list of exports based on the Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement. True, we were assured by the Japanese that this Agreement in no way affects their operation of controls on strategic trade with China, but British businessmen are still not satisfied. They know that they are being frozen out of the Chinese market.

Lord Elibank showed in the Upper Chamber that the trade of Hong Kong fell from £100 million to £26 million during the year 1952; yet Hong Kong traders are watching like trapped rabbits while trade with China is being taken away from them by their competitors. None of these queries in the House are necessarily a demonstration of antagonism to America. They are rather an expression of honest doubts about the direction of our economic policy with China and the Far East. Free enterprise is a misnomer if natural markets are artificially clogged to serve ideological purposes. To some of us in the Commons it appears that those who fear the ideas of the Kremlin most are doing their best to justify the prophecies of Soviet theory. An Asia shaken by acute economic crises cannot be saved by gearing its economy to armaments. The British

Parliament cannot afford to wait on events, it must courageously try to shape them. But as someone once said: "History never pauses for a breath while MPs stand by to wait and see."

We now have available the UN Study of Trade between China and Europe. This excellent document was released by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East on January 4th. Both the Economic Commission for Europe and the Food and Agricultural Organisation have collaborated in this work. The Study underlines that: "The desire for rapid economic development and improvement in living standards is the common denominator of economic aspirations and policy in the countries of Asia and the Far East." The object of the study is to determine a contribution that trade can make to the realisation of this aim. Here we see clearly the modifications of the old patterns of trade that are taking place. There is little hope of giving higher living standards unless the Asian and Far Eastern share of world trade increases. The nations intent on keeping alive the "Cold War" should note that the ECAFE regions' share of world export trade from 1949-1952 was well below that of 1928 and 1938. "In spite of having half the world's population, the region accounts for only 10-12 per cent of world trade." Nevertheless, we hesitate about selling the region steel rails, locomotives, or farm tractors. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East since it was established in 1947 has been an organ of enquiry and recommendation. Some of us here think this is not enough. More power must be given to its elbow.

We are pleased to see that America is having second thoughts about establishing military aid and bases in Pakistan. India rightly pointed out that the result would inevitably lead to a setback in Indo-Pakistan relations. Any additional military potential in the hands of Pakistan would mean that India would reluctantly devote more of her resources to arms. Neither would this help the Kashmir problem.

Despite the demands made by Senator Knowland that the protests of India be ignored, we in the British Parliament have had enough experience of India to know that India's protests cannot be treated so lightly. The hungry masses of India and Pakistan will find armaments a poor substitute for food. Why give the Communists of India all the aces?

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

S the second year of the Eisenhower Administration A opens, there are many indications that the President and his advisers are taking a fresh look at American policy in Asia. For some weeks, highly placed officials have been consulting influential groups and individuals about a possible change in America's attitude toward the Peking régime. Now stories to this effect, signed by some of the nation's best-known and most authoritative journalists, are beginning to appear in the press.

This is an old technique in American political life, used to particular effect in Washington in recent decades. President Roosevelt seldom plunged into a new policy abruptly. Instead, he did a certain amount of thinking out loud, being careful that suitable journalists were within earshot. These thoughts then appeared in the press, attributed not to the President but to "influential circles" or some similar phrase. Press, public and Congressional reaction was carefully assessed. If the response was cool, the idea would be dropped or postponed, without the President suffering a loss of prestige. If the atmosphere was favourable, the new proposal would be launched with the full support of the White House.

The Eisenhower Administration, gaining in confidence and skill with its first year's experience, appears to be trying its hand at this classic game of "setting the stage." Thus, Joseph Harsch, the well-informed Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, wrote on

January 5th:

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'The Eisenhower Administration in Washington is taking a 'new look' at Communist China. It is well embarked upon a course of trying to avoid more war with the government headed by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. The withdrawal of two divisions from Korea testified to this purpose, as also the accompanying warning that any new Chinese Communist eruptions would be regarded with 'grave concern.'"

If not war with China, then what? There is considerable evidence, notes Harsch, that the course of recognition of the Communist régime and the admission of its representatives to the United Nations has been seriously considered, but has for the time being been rejected. The experts have held, it is said, that in the present delicate state of political balance in South-East Asia the effect upon the powerful Chinese communities which exist there would be a serious one. After a first flush of enthusiasm for the Peking régime, Chinese leaders abroad, with their great stakes in trade and commerce, have turned back to Chiang Kai-shek. If Peking is recognised, these experts maintain, the Communist Chinese ambassadors in the countries of South-East Asia will acquire great influence over their countrymen abroad, and may tip the political scales towards Communism.

Another motive, no doubt, arises from American politics. For several years no public figure here has dared

to call openly for the recognition of Mao. powerful faction in the Republican Party, headed by Senator Knowland of California, is tightly bound to the Formosa régime and violently opposed to Peking.

At the same time, hopes of an invasion of the mainland seem to be in process of being tacitly abandoned.

Harsch notes:

"The Chiang armies on Formosa do not increase in size or power. Instead, they grow older. General Chiang's supporters on the mainland have been liquidated or converted to the new régime. There is no apparent popular basis for his

Rejecting both recognition and invasion, the President's advisers seem to lean towards the "acknowledgement" of the existence and stability of the Communist government of China. This is, in fact, the same attitude that the United States adopted toward the Soviet régime after allied intervention in the Russian Civil War had been abandoned, and until it recognised the Soviet government

It seems apparent, too, that the British theory, which holds that Chinese and Russian Communism should not be treated as identical or even as having identical interests, is winning increased attention here. The American truce negotiators in Korea appear to have reported in Washington that there are distinct differences apparent in the Soviet and Chinese attitudes to the various problems that have arisen in these lengthy negotiations.

It is known that Vice-President Richard Nixon, on his return from his tour of Asia, did much to counter a growing inclination to recognise the Chinese Communists. But, at the same time, his on-the-spot observations did not lead him to maintain that Chiang can now, or in the foreseeable future, launch a successful invasion from Formosa.

Nixon appears to have recommended the drawing of a military crescent about China and Siberia, based upon Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indo-China and Japan. thinking coincided with that of the military strategists in the Pentagon, who are more and more turning away from the idea of committing large American ground forces abroad, and leaning more and more towards reliance upon the "deterrent" effect of the threat of air-atomic attack upon the Communist world, launched from the growing number of powerful bases with which that world is being surrounded.

In Democratic Party circles, and among thoughtful people generally, there are grave doubts about Nixon's suggestions. In particular, the proposal to base American military power upon Pakistan is regarded as a calculated affront to India; indeed, Nixon is quoted as maintaining that India's "neutralism" stemmed from Nehru's belief that India could be a dominant force only if non-Communist Asia remained weak and unarmed.

It is therefore timely that Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador to India, has just published a book upon his experience in New Delhi and in Asia generally Bowles, a former Governor of the important industrial state of Connecticut and a leading figure in the latter years of the Roosevelt Administration, has written in homely and moving fashion his views and observations, and is now

speaking in every part of the country.

"If India succeeds," he says, "it will expose the Communist myth more than anything we can possibly do. It will strengthen immeasurably the hands of democratic leaders all over Asia. . . . If India fails, the people of Asia will turn to solutions of despair. If that happens, the balance of world power will shift fatally toward Moscow without a shot being fired."

HOW U.S. EXPERTS "BIT THE DUST"

By Andrew Roth

THE American experts on Asia with a liberal-left approach "bit the dust" in such separated, different and lone engagements that it scarcely has been realised that virtually the whole tribe has been wiped out.

When John S. Service was dismissed, after multiple loyalty clearances, the State Department lost probably its most brilliant and dynamic young China expert. He departed under a cloud of McCarthyite accusations. reality he was paying the penalty for a rash one-man campaign to win support for a course which would jettison the Kuomintang and force a Communist-Kuomintang coalition while a "middle way" was being prepared. This plan, which later took the shape of the "Marshall mission," probably was doomed to failure from the outset. But it is significant that Service and subsequently his superior, John Carter Vincent, were sacrificed for having attempted a middle way instead of clinging to Chiang Kai-shek. The forced retirement of Edwin Clubb was even more amazing. He had to go because, apart from being a China expert, he had had some left wing sympathies in the early 'thirties, before an assignment to Vladivostok had completely cured So many other China specialists have retired, resigned or been transferred that it is now counted the best recommendation for promotion in the State Department to know nothing about that crucial area.

Every country "purges" its experts when its foreign policy takes a new turn. The distinction, of course, is in the manner.

In the Communist states their fate is frequently covered by the word "liquidated." When, in Lenin's phrase, "the locomotive of history takes a sudden turn" those who wanted to switch it on to another track are usually jettisoned with the ugly ticket of "spy" or "imperialist agent" pinned to their bodies.

The purge of its liberal-left Far Eastern experts has shown that the processes of policy change in the US lie between the open brutality of Russia and the discreet smoothness of Britain. No one has been shot in the US for being thought too friendly to the Chinese Communists, although the hounding of Agnes Smedley probably did much to hasten her death in exile in Britain. No one has even been jailed specifically for advocating policies thought

inimical to the US. Yet politically-minded foreign visitors, particularly from continental Europe, are amazed at the degree of public conformity which has been achieved in the US. "Without one concentration camp and without one person 'shot while trying to escape,'" commented one German refugee, "the United States has achieved almost as much 'unanimity' as we had in Germany."

This is, of course, an exaggeration. But the most superficial survey of the Far Eastern field shows how effective the cold-war purge has been in removing from positions of influence those considered not sufficintly anti-Communist. China experts John S. Service, Edwin Clubb and John Carter Vincent have been sacked from the State Department. Lawrence K. Rosinger has lost his teaching and research posts. Owen Lattimore has been suspended from his teaching post while fighting the "perjury" charge arising from the McCarran investigations and, to make sure he doesn't return, the Walter Hines Page school of international studies which he headed has been "liquidated" by Johns Hopkins University of which it was part. Edgar Snow is no longer an Associate Editor of the Saturday Evening Post and is earning his living writing short stories. Amerasia was compelled to close down some years ago. The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, deprived of most of its revenues from big business contributors, has been thought recently to be on its last legs.

The United States has always been admired for its variety. It has certainly used a wide variety of weapons to purge dissident Far Eastern experts. One useful weapon, about which victims hesitate to complain, is the deprival of passport facilities. It was used against one academic expert on South-East Asia on the grounds that he had intimately associated with a girl alleged to be a Communist. The main weapon, of course, has been what Owen Lattimore aptly called the "Ordeal by Slander." Unless one has gone through the smear treatment of the American press, aided by Congressmen, it is difficult to describe the sensation of having the black headlines of the yellow press and the near-hysteria of hypercharged radio "commentators" repeat angled half-truths and innuendoes about one's views and activities fed to them by Senator McCarthy and, frequently, the FBI. The effect is quite paralysing, almost as effective a will-destroyer as the white lights and constant repetition used by the Communists in their psychological torture.

The impact is illustrated by what happened to a young bureaucrat in the State Department. In his youth he had been a mildly liberal "stringer" for Associated Press in China for a few months. In Washington in wartime he got a minor job in the State Department and advanced by being the perfect bureaucrat. He grew ponderous of manner and mind. He never had an opinion on anything unless it was that of his superior. He steadily climbed the bureaucratic scale and bought himself a house in a suburb of Washington. Then suddenly, in the days when Senator McCarthy was desperately searching for names to back up his "big lie" that there were 207 "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department, somebody suggested his name and Senator McCarthy "named" him. Overnight the timid bureaucrat's name and photograph were splashed in every newspaper. People telephoned him, calling him a spy. His neighbours asked him to sell his house and move-all before any proof had been adduced or his side heard.

If you are not broken or driven into obscurity by this form of trial by headline, there is the Senatorial investigation. The nice thing for the Senators is that if they don't get you on the swings they get you on the roundabouts. First of all, it's odds on that merely being called to testify will subject you to columns of unfavourable publicity and lose you your job. Then you face the alternatives: do you talk freely, answering all the questions put to you and face the possibility of either getting other people into trouble or being trapped into a perjury indictment? Or do you protect yourself and your associates by that legal loophole of "hiding behind the Fifth Amendment," i.e. refusing to testify on the grounds that you might incriminate yourself?

Owen Lattimore took the classic and courageous step of answering every question as fully and informatively as any investigating committee really interested in the truth could hope. It was a gruelling interrogation, lasting a record twelve days, in which Lattimore had to answer minute questions, going back over fifteen years, based on his seized correspondence and articles. It was a magnificent feat but, despite it, Lattimore was charged with numerous acts of "perjury" and indicted. He is even now bankrupting himself and having to call on his friends to meet the heavy expenses of fighting this indictment through the courts. One court has thrown out several of the charges but the Attorney-General is attempting to have them reinstated.

One of the counts on which Lattimore is claimed to have perjured himself is that he said he did not know Chi Ch'ao-ting was a Communist when he printed his articles, and when, according to Senator McCarran and the Justice Department, he "had to" know. Since Dr. Chi is now an official of the People's Bank of China in Peking, this may seem to have an element of truth in it. But the fact is that for a decade before Dr. Chi "crossed over" to the Communists he was a top economist of the Kuomintang, serving

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first as secretary to Dr. H. H. Kung, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, and then as the Kuomintang representative to numerous international economic conferences and Research Director of the Kuomintang Bank of China. Since Dr. Chi had been a leftist earlier on, one must assume that he was able to pass the scrutiny of H. H. Kung and the Kuomintang's numerous security organisations. In other words, Lattimore is expected to have been a more effective "thought policeman" than the Communist-hunting secret police of the Kuomintang!

The tragedy is even if Lattimore wins his court case he has lost. He has lost almost all of his life's savings fighting the case. His school has been liquidated. His reputation has been so dragged through the mud that he can never again hope to have any authority except for the minority who have not succumbed to the pressures of hysterical publicity. And the historically ludicrous part of it is that he is being martyrised for very moderate views. When he was in Britain 18 months ago he found he was, on China questions, to the right of British businessmen with whom he had worked in China in the early 1920s!

As if to demonstrate that it is "tails they win, heads you lose," Lawrence K. Rosinger has been virtually driven from the profession for learning from Lattimore's experience. When Prof. Lattimore decided to "fight back" and answer every question put to him on oath for a record twelve days, many wise lawyers shook their heads, saying he was walking into a perjury trap.

Today most careful lawyers advise their clients appearing before a Congressional Committee to refuse to answer questions relating to their political views or associations, relying on the Fifth Amendment to the US Constitution which says: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." By judicial interpretation this has come to apply also to civil cases and is particularly important in legislative inquiries which are virtually trials without the normal protections of the judicial process. If you, for example, answer the question "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" in the negative, there is a chance of being indicted for perjury. The government, with the aid of a number of professional ex-Communist informers, may, in the present heated atmosphere, be able to secure a conviction. Even if they do not doubt the truth of your testimony on this point, the next question, "Have you ever known any Communists?" compels you to be an informer on people who may long ago have dropped their allegiance. It is very little known, even in the US, that once you have started to answer the first question you cannot suddenly refuse to answer the second on grounds that any answer you have given constitutes a waiver of immunity. Lillian Hellman, the celebrated playwright, discovered this when she offered to talk freely about herself if she could be assured she would not have to inform on anyone else. The committee refused, so her lawyer advised her to refuse on grounds of possible self-incrimination, to answer any questions. This necessary legal device

produces the fantastic spectacle of some people refusing to answer even when they are asked their names.

The difficulty, however, is that this form of legal protection is very little understood in the US, so that anyone who refuses to answer the "\$64 question" is immediately assumed to be hiding a Communist past. Lawrence Rosinger declined to answer questions and it became impossible for him to make a living teaching or writing on Far Eastern subjects. He is now learning the hardware business in Detroit, after twenty years of preparation as a Far Eastern expert.

It is impossible to understand the rapid success of the purge in the US either in driving people out of a profession or silencing them without appreciating the important rôle of the rising standard (and cost) of living. In Britainwhich has aristocratic standards—you are not counted a "failure" if you are a teacher or writer and live in a drab room, share a kitchen and bath, wear worn clothes and use a bicycle for transportation and do not have a television set. Furthermore, there is a toleration of "cranks." In the US, however, with its middle-class standards, you are expected to conform. Furthermore, there is tremendous social pressure to "keep up with the Joneses" by having a new car, a television set with as big a screen as your neighbours, new clothes for all the family and all the other emblems of material success. Therefore, those specialists who do not want to conform politically find it necessary to work in other fields in order to conform in their standards

ASIAN 1954 ANNUAL

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of life. It is presumably the absence of sufficient markets for his political articles and books in the present political climate which has prompted Edgar Snow, for example, to turn to writing short stories.

With an expanding economy, the able nonconformist Far Eastern experts frequently have considerable success in other fields. John S. Service, I understand, is doing well in the management of a steel concern in Texas. Of course, he was probably the most brilliant China expert the State Department has produced in the last generation.

The American politicians dominant in the post-war "cold war" period have been so conscious of the danger of retaining experts considered "soft on Communism" that they have neglected the danger of being surrounded by experts so insensitive to the revolutionary feeling in Asia that they leave American policy completely unprepared for events. It would be interesting, for example, to know to

what extent Syngman Rhee's famous double-cross in releasing Korean prisoners was anticipated by the State Department. Would it have been safe for a State Department expert on Korea to have stigmatisd Dr. Rhee as an "unreliable ally" in advance? After all, look at the fate of those who rendered this type of judgment against Chiang Kai-shek.

One-sided reporting, as a result of the purge, may also have contributed to the recent American action in the UN where, in answer to Dr. Rhee's ultimatum, the US refused to support India's participation in the Political Conference. It is obviously easier in a Government stripped of its left "eye" to feel Dr. Rhee's support is more important than that of Pandit Nehru.

The road ahead in Asia is sufficiently difficult and dangerous for America and its allies. With one eye shut it may easily be disastrous.

CIRCLES IN THE COMMONWEALTH

By the Rt. Hon. Lord Ogmore

BEFORE the war what were then known as Dominions, namely Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, reclined under the shade of the United Kingdom and basked in the protection of the Royal Navy Foreign Affairs had small interest for the Australian station-hand or the lumberman in Canada. India to a large extent and Ceylon in all ways had their Foreign Affairs managed for them by the United Kingdom.

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The war made great changes. Australia and New Zealand suffered from a feeling of isolation, Canada realised that she was not only an Atlantic but a Pacific State and in India and Ceylon, as elsewhere in Asia, the early successes of the Japanese gave a great fillip to the spirit of nationalism. Since the war ended nationalism in politics has been joined by reformism in economics with Communism everywhere a disturbing element.

The granting of independence to India, Pakistan and Ceylon brought fresh viewpoints into Commonwealth ccuncils and forced on the attention of the old members new problems and unaccustomed responsibilities.

Always previously in history the granting or acquisition of independence had meant the complete severance of the dependent territories from the centre and had been a sign of weakness at the core. There were those who thought that when the United Kingdom lost so many of her overseas dependent territories she, too, would sink into the shadows but the reverse has been the case, and although we have seen the virtual dissolution of the British Empire we once knew, something much more significant has been evolved, something quite novel in world history, the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The meaning of the Commonwealth and the way it works, the relationship of the members one to another, is so entirely new and complex that it is not yet fully under-

stood by members of the Commonwealth themselves, let alone by other nations, and those who have never had the experience of bargaining at the United Nations do not realise that the Commonwealth diplomat of today has to think not merely in traditional Commonwealth terms but also of the effect on his own country and others of membership of this world body.

In effect, the position of the Commonwealth States as members of the United Nations has forced prematurely into the fierce glare of the television cameras in New York the relationship of Commonwealth countries to one another as well as the relationship of the whole and the separate parts to the outside world. It is also true that the relationship of the Commonwealth members among themselves is affected by their joint and individual relations with the United States of America.

The moral and physical strength of the Commonwealth in international affairs and of such Commonwealth countries as, to name only two, Canada and India is growing appreciably year by year. In 1953 India has tilled new ground; for the first time a woman, Mrs. Pandit, has presided over the United Nations Assembly and presided with the greatest charm, dignity and efficiency. The Commonwealth furthermore is accepted as a group in itself; for example, the United Nations allocates one seat to a Commonwealth country other than the United Kingdom as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

We can expect, in the near future, new independent Commonwealth members to be arriving. Soon Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and the federations of the West Indies, Malaya and Central Africa may be expected to be knocking at the door. We do not quite know what views some of the old members will take of the new applicants but there is no doubt that the elastic nature of the Commonwealth will

ensure that although the welcome will not be quite as warm in some quarters as in others, yet all the applicants will be admitted and that old and new will work harmoniously together after a period of trial and error.

Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that in the world at large the individual members of the Commonwealth do not and will not ever carry quite the same weight and they have not by any means always identical interests. This is not due to any question of colour, because at the present moment India is a tremendously powerful member of the Commonwealth, both in international affairs and in the councils of the Commonwealth: a state of over 300 million people which in some sense is the leader of Asian opinion in the non-Communist world, whether in the East or in the West, is obviously in a different position from those countries comparatively small in size or numbers, which have nothing like the same population or the same economic resources. Canada, too, with its immense territory, its vast economic potential and its position as a Commonwealth country in North America must play a powerful rôle in world affairs and in Commonwealth concerns. This aspect of Commonwealth relations is based on reality not sentiment. There is every reason to believe that the new members of the Commonwealth will recognise this position for themselves.

In recent years it has been possible to effect regional groupings with other countries without affecting Commonwealth solidarity. For example, Canada and the United Kingdom are members with foreign countries of NATO; Australia and New Zealand are members with the United

States of ANZUS. These groupings are reflections of the world outside the Commonwealth and it is obvious that some Commonwealth countries have interests in certain areas which are not shared to the same extent by other Commonwealth countries. This condition is an inevitable result of geography.

For these reasons it is probable that in the future there will be developed two or more circles of Commonwealth States, the circles interlocking but not necessarily coincid-All these countries will be independent members of the Commonwealth, they will all recognise the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth, and most of them will recognise Her Majesty as their individual Queen; for defensive or other purposes the various Commonwealth members may join with foreign countries to form a regional group or groups, on other occasions they may join a group consisting entirely of Commonwealth members. In some matters all Commonwealth countries will be concerned, in others certain groups of Commonwealth countries only will want to be consulted and to give their counsel. This development will be necessary because the Commonwealth is a world-wide organisation and is therefore a living, growing organism, embracing every colour, race and creed, standing for peace and prosperity under the headship of the Queen. There is no doubt that in this growth and development the members due soon to arrive will, provided a truly welcoming hand is extended to them by the existing members, play a full and distinguished part.

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ASIAN DIPLOMATS IN LONDON

M. A. H. Ispahani

IRZA ABOL HASSAN ISPAHANI, High Commissioner for Pakistan, was one of Muhammed Ali Jinnah's ablest and most adroit assistants, who played no inconsiderable part in the creation first of the Muslim League, then of the Pakistan state itself. He is a man of great charm and elegance, as well as shrewdness, business sense and considerable wealth. Since Pakistan

came into being, he has been serving his country's cause in the field of diplomacy.

As Pakistan's first Ambassador to the United States, he built up the Embassy there from scratch, supervising every detail himself. He developed between it and the American State Department a close, informal relationship that established a basis on which the present high degree of consummation of US-Pakistan friendship could be reached. Ultimately, of course, such international friendships are always based on the mutual national interests of the countries concerned, but this in no way lessens the diplomatic ability and skill required to achieve them. Mr. Ispahani's part in relations these must accounted something of a personal triumph.

After four and a half years in Washington he was, in February, 1952, transferred to London. In the two years since then, the High Commissioner has considerably reorganised the work of the large London establishment, which engages some seven hundred people. Compared to Washington, he finds the sheer quantity of work here much greater. Apart from his purely diplomatic responsibilities, much of his personal attention is required for such matters as the purchase of stores both for the defence and civil needs of Pakistan, the supervision of Pakistani students and trainees here, and the like. But business acumen is, as it were, in his blood, and he enjoys dealing with these practical cares of a High Commissioner's office.

Born in Madras in 1902, he was educated in India and England, has the degrees of M.A., LL.B. (Honours, Cambridge), became Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple, London), and joined the family business in 1925—the well-known commercial house of M. M. Ispahani, of Calcutta, which by his own description was a "reasonably big business."

When India was partitioned, he disposed of his interests in it.

During the last war his firm, like many others in India, made a fortune, and inevitably earned the dislike and resentment of political opponents and those envious of his financial success. Yet most of Mr. Ispahani's political career was unfolded in Calcutta. He played an active and

important part in the Calcutta Corporation, the Legislative Assembly of Bengal, as proprietor and editor of newspapers, as a member of the All-India Muslim League, as President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, and in many other directions.

In 1936, when M. A. Jinnah invited some 400 leading Muslim personalities in India to come together in the Muslim League inaugural conference, Mr. Ispahani was one of the fewer than two score who responded to the call. Today he takes pride in having been one of the half-dozen original supporters of Jinnah, co-founder of the Muslim League that created Pakistan. At the same time, he feels strongly that once the Kashmir dispute is settled, there is no reason why India and Pakistan

should not cooperate and jointly hold a position of great influence in the world. Nostalgic memories of his child-hood and youth associations with Madras and Calcutta remain with him, but he recognises that the generation of Pakistanis now growing up have no such bond of emotional association with India.

The High Commissioner is a believing Muslim, and as such performs his devotions regularly. But in keeping with his character, he is strongly opposed to the obscurantist and backward-looking trends in his country. A man of his time in outlook and behaviour, he speaks frankly and vigorously against the influence of the mullahs and maulavis in Pakistan's politics, nor does he hesitate to criticise some of the proposed provisions on religious organisation in the Pakistan Constitution. He also deplores the absence of sound opposition in the parliamentary life of Pakistan, and would welcome the emergence of well-organised political parties challenging the Muslim League, and thus impelling it along a more democratic road.



ANDHRA STATE

By B. S. N. Murti (New Delhi)

THE new State of Andhra came into being on October 1st, 1953. It comprises eleven Telugu-speaking districts of the undivided Madras State. Seven of these, generally known as the "Circars," run along the seaboard of the Bay of Bengal while the remaining four districts, known as the "Ceded Districts," or, more popularly, "Rayalaseema," lie in the interior.



Andhra State is the 10th "Part A" State and the 29th unit of the Indian Union. Both in area and population it is the seventh largest State in India. population, according to the last census, is over 20 millions. It touches Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in the North and North-West, Hyderabad and Mysore in the West and the residuary Madras State in the South: the whole of its

east is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. The area covered by these boundaries is 63,417 square miles. The principal rivers in the State are the Nagavali, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Pennar. The waters of the rivers and their tributaries have been harnessed to irrigate a third of the cultivated area. The foundations of the present prosperity of the Godavari and the Krishna deltas were laid in the middle of the nineteenth century when dams for irrigational purposes were constructed across the two mighty rivers by Sir Arthur Cotton.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people in Andhra. About 90% of the cultivated area is devoted to food crops like rice and millet, and the total food production is estimated at over 3 million tons. The Tungabhadra project in the State, now nearing completion, will turn it into a vast granary for the whole country. Andhra is also rich in commercial crops like tobacco, groundnuts, oil-seeds, fibres, cereals, sugar cane and cotton. It produces over 80% of the total tobacco output in India. With its vast forest tracts and 600 miles of coast line, Andhra is potentially very rich in forest and fishery resources. Its mineral resources are generally held to be very valuable. There are rich manganese deposits in Visakhapatnam, graphite in the Godavari valley, mica in Nellore, gold, silver and diamonds in the Ceded Districts, There are also other

minerals such as limestone, coal, bauxite, iron, copper and steatite available both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts. At present most of this mineral wealth is exported as raw material without being utilised in industries at home. Broadly speaking, the distribution of the natural resources of Andhra is such that the Circars constitute the granary while the Ceded Districts can well become the industrial workshop, each region supplementing the needs of the other.

The Andhra State's largest industry is rice hulling and oil milling and this too is based on her agriculture. Next in importance comes the sugar industry. As a fillip to agriculture, a number of cottage industries have developed all over Andhra. A few among them are weaving, banglemaking, paper manufacture, dyeing, toy-making, lacquer work, boat building, embroidery and carpet making. The pile carpets of Ellore won international reputation for their workmanship, while Kurnool became famous for its coloured rugs.

The history of the Andhras goes back at least a thousand years before Christ. In the Aitareya Brahmana, the oldest Hindu scripture, the first reference is found to the Andhras. They were also mentioned in the epics Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Several foreign travellers who had visited Andhra during the early years of the Christian era described the Andhras as a powerful people who had a flourishing sea-borne trade with far-off lands like China, Japan, Burma and the Malayan Archipelago.

So far as is known to history, there were three periods in the past when nearly the whole of what is now "Andhra desh" was politically unified under the control of one Government. The first such period was that of the Satavahanas (235 BC to 220 AD), whose territory extended from the eastern coast to the western coast of Peninsular India. Under the Satavahanas, Hinduism and Buddhism flourished equally and both the religions found their fulfilment as the fountain head of Art.

The second period of Andhra's political unification was in the days of Kakatiyas from about 1200 AD to 1323 AD. This dynasty had its central powers in Telengana and ruled from Warangal as its capital.

The third and last empire was the great Vijayanagar Empire (1335 AD to 1555 AD), which arose out of the Muslim conquest of the Deccan which took place after the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty. The zenith of the Vijayanagar glory was reached in the reign of Krishnadevaraya.

With the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, the area known as Telengana and a part of the coastal Andhra was ruled by the Nawabs of Golconda who in turn became subjected to Aurangzeb. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and the consequent struggle for the overlordship of the Deccan left South India in a state of ferment. It was during this period of political uncertainty that the European merchants such as the English, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese established factories on the East coast to monopolise the trade in textile fabrics, Masulipatam chintzes, muslins and calico. The East India Company gradually gained ascendancy in the Deccan and eventually extended its rule over the entire Andhra territory.

There are certain distinctive traits of character which may be associated with the Andhra people. For instance, they possess the capacity to absorb new ideas and a new way of life readily without losing their own individuality. The facility with which the Andhras took to Buddhism during the Satavahana period affords the finest illustration of this aspect of the Andhra character. The territory of Andhra is today strewn all over with Buddhist relics, an indication of the thoroughness with which they had embraced the new religion. They also helped the spread of Buddhism by sending missionaries to Burma, Malaya and Indo-China. At the same time, true to their character, the Andhras enriched Buddhism by their own individual contribution. Acharya Nagarjuna, the exponent of the Mahayana cult of Buddhism, was an Andhra and lived at Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur District. His works, written in Sanskrit, were carried to distant China and translated into Chinese.

The Andhras are primarily an emotional people. This has naturally found expression not only in their music, literature, dance and sculpture, but also in a variety of crafts with an artistic undertone. Thyagaraja, the greatest of Indian composers of music, enriched Karnatic music with his immortal compositions. The Bharata Natya style of dance originated at Kuchipudi on the banks of the Krishna. The sculptures at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda bear eloquent testimony to the artistic genius of the Andhras.

The formation of Andhra State as a unit of the Indian Republic is an historic event. It is the culmination of a forty-year-old popular demand for a separate State for the Telugu speaking people, but also a recognition of the need to redraw the boundaries of the constituent units of the Indian Union on the basis of certain basic data and funda-The decision of the Government of mental principles. India to constitute the new State of Andhra is thus the logical development of the stand taken by the Congress, even when it was busy fighting for the freedom of the country. The Government have announced further that they will appoint a Commission to examine the whole issue in all its aspects so that the territorial boundaries of the various states in India are in accord with history, tradition and the general interests of the country as a whole.

NIHON SEISHIN - The Revival of Imperial Japan

By our Tokyo Correspondent

7 HITE-CLAD war invalids with artificial limbs are begging for alms at the temple gates and in the railway coaches of Japan. Station wagons with the ominous number plates ABCC (Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission) are seen on the roads of Toyko, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But in spite of these mementos there are increasing signs that the impact of the American occupation and the outward acceptance of the trimmings of western democracy did not touch essential Japanese traditions. Nihon Seishin is coming back—the Spirit of Imperial Japan which led a small insignificant island country to become the ruler of the Far East and a decisive factor in world politics. Despite Japan's political and economic difficulties-or perhaps because of these difficulties-the stage is set for the resurrection of the past glories which linger in the minds of 87 million people who, for the first time in their history, saw a conqueror's army on their own soil. Imperial Japan's Spirit-Nihon Seishin-is making its re-appearance in all fields of life. Sometimes the revival is subtle and almost inaudible; sometimes it is blunt and embarrassing. The atmosphere in Japan is loaded as it was in Germany during the early 'twenties when the liberal Republic of Weimar had to fight for survival against German militant nationalism to which it finally succumbed in 1933. Many people in Japan, and elsewhere, are concerned lest the modest beginnings of democracy in Japan will wither away and Japan will go the way of the Weimar Republic-only much faster.

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On September 1, 1953, the revision of the Anti-Mono-

poly Laws became effective. The Zaibatsu, Japan's Big Business, are back. Broken up by the American occupation as one of the pillars of the traditional social and economic order in Japan, they never disintegrated completely but continued to exist, sometimes openly, sometimes clandestinely. Under the Law for the Elimination of Excessive Concentration of Economic Power and its various amendments—passed under a directive from General Mac-Arthur-more than 300 commercial and industrial companies were scheduled for liquidation and re-organization. Ten families, the Big Business magnates, were designated "purgees": Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Nomura, Okura, Asano, Nakajima, Furukawa and Ayukawa. They were the "Captains" who piloted Japan out of her mediæval isolation into her predominance in the modern world. The creation of modern industrialisation in Japan since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 would not have been possible without the concentration of capital and other resources in the hands of the Zaibatsu. They developed the Imperial Japan which in quick succession was victorious against China, Russia, Korea and, then, in the course of a few years, became the master of the Far East until it collapsed in 1945 under the onslaught of superior western technology. The Anti-Zaibatsu laws of the Occupation remained largely on paper. The Zaibatsu banks, for instance, suffered little more than a change of name. Even these were restored in the meantime. Now, the Zaibatsu are back. The economic life of Japan will be rerouted into its traditional pre-war ways. Little publicity

was given to the debate in Parliament on the steps which made the return of the Zaibatsu legal. Overshadowing stress was laid on another aspect of the return of pre-war Japan—the Anti-Strike Bill, the first legislative step to curb the influence of the labour movement and of the trade unions which developed in Japan under American initiative. An organised labour movement was almost unknown in Japan before the war. Directives of the Occupation Authorities initiated it as one of the fundamentals of western democracy. It was enthusiastically welcomed and implemented, in some cases even ad absurdum. Before the war, any attempts to organise labour were nipped in the bud by a powerful police backed by Public Peace Preservation Laws and regulations. In post-war Japan trade unions had become a factor to be reckoned with. new anti-strike bill prohibits strikes in power plants and coal mines, if the regular supply of electric power, mineral resources, safety of workers of public welfare are endangered by the strike. Rallies, demonstrations, and protest strikes deviated the attention of the public from the legal re-entry of the Zaibatsu; but both laws, passed at the same time, are clearly pursuing the same course.

Re-armament, too, plays its role in Imperial Japan's comeback. The haggling over the National Safety Corps and its increase, under constant American prodding, has become farcical. Japanese public opinion is divided between the acceptance of American aid under the Mutual Security Act and between adherence to Article IX of the MacArthur-inspired new Japanese Constitution which renounces the maintenance of armed forces. Until a short time ago, the Government persistently claimed that the National Safety Corps was not an army-but they were never able to explain the presence and use of heavy equipment with that so-called police force and its prominent display in recent manœuvres. Now, with the windfall dollar income of the Korean War and American Offshore procurement shrinking, Japan has to accept M.S.A., which means undertaking re-armament at American expense. And that in the face of fierce opposition from the socialist parties. In view of the conflicts over fishing grounds with South Korea, Formosa, Australia and Russia, Japan would like very much to rattle the sabre-but without M.S.A. they have no sabre. During the heated argument with the Republic of Korea, an astounding statement was made by Eiso Yoshida, Commander of the First Flotilla of the Japanese Coast Guard, Japan's miniature navy. He said: "We are confident we can defeat Republic of Korea naval forces in a battle." (Japan News, Oct. 24). More than seven times the number of applicants required by the National Safety Corps for 1953 had applied for enlistment when recruitment was closed in October, 1953. 8,000 were required; 56,994 applied (Nippon Times, Oct. 25). War films reviving Pearl Harbour and the conquest of South East Asia are ardently applauded by the public, and so are books and articles on the subject. Former army and navy officers, the pride of Imperial Japan, in disgrace during the American occupation, are coming back into their own. Not only are "heroes' welcomes" given to those returning ex-prisoners as pardoned war-criminals but some are becoming positively active. Their first chance came with the outbreak of the war in Korea. It lead to the creation of the Special Police Reserve, the revival of the munitions and arms industries, and, finally, the establishment of the National Safety Corps. The services of these ex-officers are now much in demand by government

offices, armament industries and everything connected with re-armament. On August 23, 1952, former army officers formed an association "Kaikokai" with proper ceremonies held at the Yasakuni Shrine in Tokyo, the memorial for the War Dead in Japan. The promoters of the Association were General Sadamo Shimomura, a former Minister of War: Lt.-General Takazo Numata and Colonel Kazua Horiba. At about the same time, former naval officers re-established the famous Seikosha, the Naval Officers' Club, now under the name of Seikokai. Admirals played a leading part in this revival: Sabura Momotake, Kenzo Kobayashi, Kichisaburo Nomura, former Ambassador to the United States, Katsurjoshin Yamanashi and Kiyoshi Hasegawa, former Governor of Formosa. These associations publish magazines and help their members to find jobs. In the meantime they wait for the day to return when soldiers are again glorified in Japan. The military men associated with re-armament in Japan can be divided into three categories. One group is working among the politicians. The second group is advising the National Safety Board. The third group is engaged in research of issues connected with re-armament. All responsible positions in the National Safety Corps are held by former officers. The same applies to the Maritime Safety Force where the above mentioned Eizo Yoshida is prominently engaged with Hiroshi Nagazawa, both former high ranking Imperial naval officers. The Japan Federation of Employers Associations is advised on armaments by professional military men. They have voiced the opinion that at present a military force of 300,000 men, 290,000 tons of naval craft and about 4,000 aircraft would be compatible with the economic capacity of Japan. This committee, ironically enough, counts heavily on American aid to re-build Japan's military strength. Many former army and navy men are holding important positions in business and industry. Among the better-known "Factory Generals" as they are called-are Admiral Todome Nakamura, adviser on aircraft design with Ito Chu Company; Vice-Admiral Mosaku Kurita with Nippei Industries, Ryohei Arusake with Nosaki Industries and Iwakichi Isaki with Hitachi Shipbuilding. To complete the set-up Japan's leading arms manufacturers have now established a new organisation, the Japan Arms Industry Association, to safeguard their interests in view of the anticipated increase in production as a result of Japan's acceptance of American M.S.A. Among the directors of this group are representatives of six major arms makers including Kobe Steel Works, Nippei Industries and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries as well as three former high army and navy technical officers.

Imperial Japan comes back in many fields. Members of the infamous Kempetai, the former Military Police, which held Japan and its occupied territories under its sway, have formed a veteran's organisation. The Neighbourhood Associations, the Vigilantes, are back to control the daily life of the citizens, to do informers' work and to help to substitute for the Thought Police. And where "private initiative" fails to revive Nihon Seishin sufficiently, the Government steps in to help. Funds for local government—initiated by the Occupation—are cut and withheld, obviously with the intention of sabotaging local self-government and to restitute the controlling powers of the central government. In the same vein are the repeated endeavours of the Government to create a News Agency of their own. So far, the project has not been implemented on account

of the vigorous protests of the press which had, again under American influence, its heyday of unrestrained writing and reporting. It remains to be seen how long the press can resist governmental regulations in view of the many powers government can exercise against the press, including the allocation of foreign currency.

Japanese nationalists are capitalizing on Korean action against Japanese fishing vessels infringing on the Rhee (formerly MacArthur) Line. On September 15, 1953, a nationalist youth organisation, the "Martyrs' Youth Corps," rallied in front of Shimbashi Station in Tokyo to demand the abolition of the Rhee Line. On October 12, leaders of various nationalist groups demanded the impeachment of the Yoshida Government for its "weak-kneed" stand against Korea. Several members of parliament attended the meeting. During the last general elections, in April, 1953, some 3,000,000 votes were cast for nationalist candidates. Together with these manifestations goes the propaganda for the return of former Japanese possessions. When a short time ago the American Government returned to Japan as a gesture of goodwill, the Amami Oshima Islands, country.

they stressed that the Okinawa and Ogasawara Islands would not be returned. Immediately, the press started clamouring that not only Okinawa and Ogasawara were pure Japanese territory, but put forward claims for the Kurile Islands and others, now under American, Russian and Korean control. Old maps were produced to prove Japanese claims. Japanese flags were ostentatiously sent from Tokyo to schools in Okinawa by Kenseikai (Health Youth Organisation) (Nippon Times, October 27, 1953).

Anti-American films, books, articles and other propaganda are sweeping Japan and cannot be dismissed as being solely Communist propaganda. Unemployment is on the increase. This year's rice crop will be short by two million tons. Japan's exports are shrinking. The glitter of Tokyo's night life cannot hide the apprehensions of the people whose foreign trade deficit will probably exceed one billion dollars by the end of this year. Too often we have seen in other countries that the spirits of militarism and nationalism are fanned under the incentives of economic difficulties—all the more in Japan where military traditions and success were decisive in forming the destiny of the country.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN OF THE PHILIPPINES

by Ralph Friedman (Eugene, U.S.)

THE great hero of the Philippines is now Ramon Magsaysay, the Republic's new president. For him the flags are unfurled, the bugles sound, the toasts offered. He is expected to extirpate the corruption which flourished so lavishly under the Quirino regime, institute a programme of land reform so as to put an end to agrarian unrest, smash the Peasant Army led by Luis Taruc, and turn the Philippine bases into a pistol aimed at China.

I do not think he will accomplish any of these things, but this article is not about him. It is about one of his prisoners, the forgotten man of the Philippines. I am referring to Amado Hernandez, who was arrested by Quirino on a charge of attempting to overthrow the govern-

ment, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

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It is with deep regret that I cannot report in detail on what happened to Hernandez since he was seized by the police and placed in solitary confinement in Camp Murphy, on the outskirts of Manila. Since this took place, more than three years ago, it has been difficult to obtain much news. Letters to the Islands have been intercepted, tampered with, and often not delivered. The newspaper accounts of his trial, even in the Manila press, were very sketchy; foreign correspondents refrained from mentioning the case in their despatches, for reasons I can only guess at; and American friends of Hernandez were shadowed by the police as soon as they came down the gangplanks, and sometimes temporarily detained and questioned.

Filipino visitors to the United States have been very touchy about discussing the case. When leading American trade unionists and Filipinos living in San Francisco tried to obtain some information from the Mayor of Manila when he visited this country after Hernandez's arrest, they met only with silence and evasion. Even the Philippine students in the United States, at least those I have come across, appear pained to even mention the case. They have all heard of Hernandez: indeed, are well acquainted with his war record, writings and political activity; seem to

honour and respect his achievements (at least none had a bitter word for him); but beyond this I could get no information. One student remarked: "How do I know you won't report me to the FBI? They keep a check on us, you know," and then, with a smile, changed the subject.

Who is this Amado Hernandez, languishing beyond thick prison walls? What was his background? What

were his crimes?

Among students of Philippine literature he is known as one who was Poet Laureate of the Islands and its greatest Tagalog short story writer. He also made a name for himself as a dramatist, and his wife, Honorata de la Rama-Hernandez, was long considered the nation's most talented actress. He was also one of the Philippines' greatest journalists, and prior to World War II edited a Manila paper. During the war he served with the anti-Japanese guerilla forces and was attached to the American Army after the Leyte invasion. He was cited for his intelligence work and advanced to the rank of major, though his retroactive payment was for a captaincy. When the war ended he turned his gifted talents, including great oratorical ability, to organizing trade unions, and to political reform.

Hernandez was never a Communist. It must have been apparent to anyone who had ever read the elementary essentials of Marxism that his ignorance on the subject was profound. Like many persons who do a great deal of reading and writing, he was a prodigious collector of books, and probably kept everything people sent or handed him, but a close study of his writings and his speeches shows that he had not embraced, or even really understood,

Marxist doctrines.

There is nothing wrong with reading Marxist literature or understanding its doctrines, but I bring out Hernandez's ignorance concerning Marxism to place him in correct historical perspective.

Prior to the war Hernandez had been a middle-class liberal. He was probably in favour of national indepen-

dence, as were so many intellectuals, but if he indulged in much agitation for it, there is no record. He had been in favour, along with most liberals, of land reform, broader democracy, and greater social mobility. That was about as far as he went.

His political education began during the war. He watched the wealthy caciques and plantation owners flee from their estates and leave the fighting and the dying to their sharecroppers and landless labourers. Hernandez saw many of the rich, some of whom had been his classmates and companions, flee to sanctuaries or join the Japanese as collaborators. Before his eyes a peasant army grew and took shape, nameless and shoeless men emerged as leaders, men and women kept hungry by a system of peonage fought for their country with the hearts of lions, divided the lands, planted and harvested the crops, opened schools, instituted sanitary measures, established village councils, and passed such acts of suffrage as were not even known in Manila before the war.

Out of the struggle came new concepts of democracy and progress. The old would have to go, the new would have to remain. Hernandez saw the future, awkward and unlettered, but rich as the earth and clear as the night air. He eagerly awaited the Americans, welcomed them as missionaries of freedom, a bayonet in one hand, to be used against the Japanese, and the Bill of Rights in another, to be given to the "taos", the common man.

But to the bewilderment of Hernandez and thousands like him, the Americans came only to win the war, not to disturb the social system which had gone on before it. They came to return things as they were: the Philippines to the government and the land to those who had paper title to it.

Along with many others who had fought the Japanese and dreamed of a better social order, Hernandez was bitterly disappointed. He knew then, as so many others also learned, that the common people of the Philippines would receive only what they were strong enough to win for themselves.

He did not break with his old companions and associates, like Carlos Romulo, but he turned from their high levels of operation to intimate contact with the people. He helped to organize the Congress of Labour Organizations, of which he was elected president, and the worker-farmer alliance, the Philippine Union of Peasant and Labour Organizations, of which he was chosen chairman. He ran for City Councilman of Manila and was overwhelmingly elected. Two years later he was asked by the Nacionalista Party, of which he was a member, to run for Congress,

but he declined.

What were the crimes of Hernandez? He supported the Huks because he felt the government had no intention of reducing the social abuses of the peasantry, of whom Daniel Thorner wrote in Foreign Policy Reports (April 1950): "During the period of United States rule from 1900 to 1946 it is doubtful whether the living standards of the tenants and agricultural labourers registered any marked improvement over the miserable condition of the nineteenth century Spanish rule." From 1946 until he was arrested (and until now, incidentally) there has been no qualitative improvement.

He opposed the Philippine Trade Act (Bell Act) which the Economist Shirley Jenkins said "has given to the United States all the advantages of possessing a colonial dependency, both economic and military, without responsibilities for administration of domestic welfare."

He exposed corruption in government, championed every cause which would give the common man a bit more in life, and called for a free and unrestricted exchange of ideas in the market place of the nation.

The events leading up to the arrest of Hernandez are well known. Unable to solve the vexing problems confronting him, Quirino had turned to the full use of police power. The habeas corpus was flouted, a mockery made of constitutional rights, and secret police took to shadowing outspoken elements such as Hernandez. Shortly before he was seized. Hernandez and other leaders of the Congress of Labour Organizations were tipped off by a friend within the government that their lives were in jeopardy. His friends fled to the hills but Hernandez stayed on, never really believing that such a thing could happen to him. For all his knowledge of the forces opposing him, he never seriously considered himself in danger. In his first few days in jail, shocked and amazed as he was, according to reports, he must have regarded the whole thing as a gigantic blunder. He was not a Communist, not a Huk. not a member of any secret group. He had fought in the open and his record was clear for all to see.

Does the price of anti-communism include the finest defenders of democracy? If so, men of good faith will pay little attention to the case of Amado Hernandez, the Asian giant shackled and forgotten. But at least let us remember the name. For some day, when peace and sanity come to earth, and when inquiring minds are free from prejudice to probe where and what they will, Amado Hernandez will be rediscovered, and his name will stand with that of the Philippines' greatest intellectuals and patriots.

CAMBODIA IN TRANSITION

By Le Than Khoi

ING NORODOM SIHANOUK'S return to his capital on November 8th marked the end of a tense period in French-Khmer relations. Although Cambodia is not yet completely independent, France under the pressure of circumstances has made a series of concessions in the military and judicial spheres. Indeed the Cambodian problem offers much less difficulty for Paris than the Vietnamese one. To understand it and to understand the role played by the King, it is necessary to examine the historical and economic background.

Historical and Economic Background

Cambodia is a country with an ancient civilisation. It is the heir to the antique kingdom of Fu Nan and the former Khmer Empire. Fu Nan, first Hinduized kingdom of East Indochina, appeared in history at the dawn of the Christian era. At its zenith, it extended over South Vietnam, Laos, and the greater part of Thailand and Malaya. Fu Nan collapsed in the 6th century under the pressure of Kambujas (Cambodians) who had divided themselves into Land Chen La and Water Chen La.

Unification was realized by Jayavarman II who founded in 802 the Khmer Empire, capital Angkor. After centuries of power the mostly because of the Siamese expansion which introduced Hinayana Buddhism. Angkor was to be abandoned for a new capital, Phnom Penh. Cambodia's dynastic upheavals allowed its glory, the Khmer Empire began to decline in the 14th century, two neighbours, Viet Nam and Siam, to intervene in its internal affairs and impose their double suzerainty, substituted by the French protectorate in 1863.

To-day Cambodia is reduced to an area of 70,000 square miles. Its population is estimated to be 4,079,000, i.e., only 15 per cent of East Indochina. The capital Phnom Penh has 375,000 inhabitants, but of this figure the Vietnamese account for 100,000 and the Chinese for 90,000.

From its historical past Cambodia has retained a social organization based on monarchy and Buddhism. But while the Vietnamese monarchy of Confucian tradition was limited theoretically by the "mandate of Heaven" and practically by the strength of public opinion, customs and communal autonomy, the Khmer sovereign is, according to Indian conceptions, at one and the same time a god and a king. He possesses an absolute authority and ownership over all the lands of the kingdom. All institutions rest on him; his death or minority often led to political disruption such as occurred many times in Cambodian history. On the other hand, the Khum or Cambodian commune has no autonomy—instead of being the notables' delegate like the Vietnamese Ly Truong, the head of the Khmer village is but a servant of the central power.

Buddhism on its part exercises a dominant influence. The pagoda is the centre of every Khmer community which it instructs and directs. There is, so to speak, not a Cambodian who, on emerging from adolescence, does not leave family and trade to put on for some time the monk's robe. This Buddhist influence, as much as the soil fertility and the low density of population, have given the Khmers an easy and slow life.

History explains the nationalist sentiments of this country. It shows a great antagonism towards Viet Nam, whose interventions from the 17th to the 19th century cost Cambodia a succession of territorial losses in the Mekong delta. This antagonism is increased today by the presence of a Cambodian minority (350,000) in South Vietnam and a Vietnamese minority (250,000) in Cambodia, the latter being rice-cultivators, fishers or petty civil servants introduced by the French protectorate to facilitate its own administrative tasks. On the other hand it is true, but the Cambodians forget it, that they acquired, by decision of the Governor General of Indochina on December 20, 1911, the Jakai region, nearly 4,000 miles, in the Stung-treng province, which formerly belonged to Viet Nam.

Siam, now renamed Thailand, enjoys a greater favour in spite of its past aggressions. This derives first from a common culture: the Siamese, once vassals of the Khmer Empire, borrowed from it many features of their culture. Secondly, political prestige; Siam was the only country of South-East Asia to safeguard its nominal independence during the colonial era. Bangkok has never spared its support of the Khmer nationalists who, pursued by the French Sûreté, took refuge on the Menam banks. Lastly, from an economic stand, the port of Bangkok could serve as an outlet for Khmer goods in case of hindrances from Saigon.

French colonisation in Cambodia as well as in neighbouring countries, meant national humiliation, political oppression, and the loss of all liberties. Under the appearance of resignation, the Khmer people never accepted foreign domination. The most famous revolt was conducted by Prince Si Votha in 1885-86, but after its repression, the resistance went underground. In the coonomic sphere, French capitalism was more attracted by Vietnamese resources and neglected Cambodia: it has invested principally in rubber plantations (production: 19,600 tons in 1951) but has not exploited the very rich mines (iron, precious stones, phosphates, salt, etc.).

Rice remains the essential commodity. Paddy production amounted in 1951 to 1,360,000 tons, supplied by a cultivated area of 1,986,000 hectares, nearly equal to that of South Vietnam (1,207,000 hectares). Other resources are fishing (200,000 tons of

fish a year), pepper, pea-nuts, sesame, sugar-cane, tobacco and maize (37,500 tons).

Cambodia becomes a Constitutional Monarchy

In World War II Cambodia lost the two provinces of Battambang and Siemreap which the Japanese "mediation" gave to Thailand in 1941. But the Japanese occupation, as a result of its slogans of "Asia for the Asians" and "Co-Prosperity Sphere" stimulated the awakening of nationalism. At this time Son Ngoc Thanh revealed himself. Son of a Vietnamese father and a Cambodian mother, he instigated in 1942 a demonstration of bonzes before the French Residency Superior in Phnom Penh. After the failure of this attempt, he fled to Bangkok—the Japanese sent him to Tokyo to achieve his political education. He served in the Japanese army and attained the rank of captain.

The Japanese coup of March 3, 1945, eliminated the French regime. King Norodom Sihanouk who had ascended the throne in Spring 1941 denounced, like Bao Dai in Tue, all the treaties signed with France and proclaimed independence. He appointed as prime minister Son Ngoc Thanh who had come back from Tokyo. But Japan capitulated. British troops occupied Indochina south of the 16th parallel. Thanh, lacking forces, could not oppose the French return to Phnom Penh on October 9. He was captured, sent to Saigon and sentenced to forced residency in France.

Norodom Sihanouk hastened to side with the new France. He signed the modus vivendi of January 7, 1946 and the agreement of March 6 providing for a "free Cambodia", but restoring in fact the pre-war protectorate in modified form. This swift change in the King's attitude caused unrest in certain Khmer circles. Anxious to regain his popularity and to secure the people's support against the Khmer Issaraks (Free Khmers) who were continuing the resistance against the French, he announced the granting of a Constitution and the establishment of a parliamentary regime. An electoral law was promulgated in May 1946, and the electoral compaign began in June. Three parties presented 200 cannotates tor 57 seats. The Democrats have the most radical platform; they advocate full independence, removal of all French controls, responsible government and social reforms. The Progressives advocate, rather vaguely, a gradual evolution towards autonomy. Finally the Liberals represent the conservative and pro-French element.

On September 1, 1946, the first Cambodian elections secured a victory for the Democrats. They won 50 seats to 4 for the Liberals, 3 for the Independents. The Progressives, completely defeated, disappeared from the political scene. While French pressure impelled Thailand to restitute Battambang and Siemreap (Washington Agreement in December, 1946), the Assembly was transformed into a Constituent one and formulated a Constitution, which was promulgated on 6th May, 1947. This Constitution is not of a democratic nature. Indeed all powers emanate, not from the people, but from the King and must be exercised in his name. The legislative power belongs to a seventy-eight-member National Assembly, elected by universal adult male suffrage. A second Chamber, called the Council of the Kingdom, comprises 24 members representing the royal family (2), the National Assembly (2), the capital and provinces (8) and professional bodies (12): it has only advisory powers. The King may dissolve the Assembly.

Political and Economic Problems

Meanwhile dissatisfaction was growing—the French troops which were occupying the whole countryside were heavy-handed, and French civil servants retained all the means of control. It seemed that the old Colonial regime was trying quietly to take root again. The High Commissioner in Saigon resorted to dilatory methods to delay independence. Dissatisfaction found expression at the December, 1947, elections. Of 78 seats, the Democrats took 54 to 20 for the Liberals. The Democrats who represent the Phnom Penh intelligentsia, were more and more influenced by the Khmer Issaraks' propaganda.

The Khmer Issarak movement had been founded in Bangkok in 1940. When the Free Thai Government of Pridi Phanomyong came to power in 1944, the movement had its quasi-official support. The climate changed after the coup d'etat of Luang Pibul Songram in November, 1947. In order to obtain Western aid, the

new Government refused to recognize the Khmer Issaraks. This group was obliged to leave Thailand and go back across the border: many of them were content to get assistance from the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Viet Minh) which enabled them to create new bases in the Battambang-Siemreap areas. However, material losses, lack of internal cohesion and personal rivalries led to defections. When King Norodom Sihanouk offered amnesty in January, 1949, a number of Issaraks rallied to the royal army while others more intransigent or converted to Marxism kept on fighting: in April, 1950, they formed, with Republican assistance, the United Issarak Front under Son Ngoc Minh, younger brother of Son Ngoc 1 hanh.

Phnom Penh did not view without concern the reunification of Viet Nam. It feared to enter an Indo-Chinese Federation where Viet Nam was to be the leader and, owing to the port of Saigon, control its foreign trade. The Cambodian trade balance was favourable because of its excess of rice, rubber, fish and pepper (Cambodia exported in 1951 233,000 tons of rice to South Viet Nam only). So it demanded economic independence, freedom of the port of Saigon, and safeguarding of the rights of the Cambodian minority in Viet Nam. But Cambodia could not oppose South Vietnam's attachment to Viet Nam under the Elysée agreement (March 8, 1949). It signed a similar agreement with France on November 8, 1949, and in the following year, participated in the Inter-State Conference (June 29—November 27, 1950); the conventions were signed in Phnom Penh on December 25.

These treaties limit Cambodia's sovereignty on several points; establishment of joint courts, French direction of foreign policy and stationing of French troops on Cambodian territory. On the other hand, they established an economic and financial federalism (customs, monetary, transmissions union, etc.) and give France a control and veto right in all the quadripartite organisms. Cambodia was recognized by "Western" powers in 1950 and entered the international scene by signing the Japanese peace treaty in San Francisco (September 8, 1951).

Cambodian Crises

Under the pressure both of public opinion which demanded full independence, and of the Issaraks who went on fighting, the Phnom Penh regime, undermined also by personal rivalries, faced a series of crises. Opposition to the King, who was accused of being too amenable to French suggestions, became open in mid-1949. On September 18th the King dissolved the Assembly and formed a personal government. But a new ministerial crisis in February 1951, impelled him to decide on new elections. Nearly 500 candidates stood for 8 parties before 700,000 electors (17% of the population). On September 9, the Democrats achieved success for the third time with 53 seats to 19 for the Liberals, 4 for the Victorious North-East and 2 for the Khmer Renovation party.

This victory was especially due to an important external move: the birth on March 11, 1951, in the Viet Nam Republic area, of the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese People's Allied Front. It was to be followed by another major event in Cambodian politics: Son Ngoc Thanh's return. As soon as he was in Phnom Penh, he founded a journal and launched an anti-French nationalist campaign. The journal was soon suspended and on the point of being arrested, Son Ngoc Thanh rallied the Issarak in the Siemreap sector on March 11, 1952, first anniversary of the birth of the Allied Front. From that time onwards, his radio has unceasingly appealed to Khmers to fight for full independence and establish a Republic.

Thanh's activity caused a new tension in French-Khmer relations, when the Hoabinh withdrawal compelled Paris to increase its military effort. To obtain further American aid which accounted already for 33% of the total expenses, pressure was brought on the Indo-Chinese capitals. In Saigon, Trân Van Huu was replaced by Ngnyên Van Tâm. In Phnom Penh, the King assumed power.

The King Assumes Power

On June 15, 1952, he dismissed the Democratic Cabinet and demanded that the Assembly grant him full powers in order to realize independence in three years. On the 16th, the Assembly, although threatened with dissolution, informed the King it had no

competence to extend the exceptional powers he held already under the Constitution. Norodom Sihanouk, who had constituted a personal government, then announced a budget, 40% of which was devoted to military expenses, prohibited all political meetings and led operations against Son Ngoc Thanh.

Tension between the Palace and the Democratic majority Assembly, which had lasted for 4 years, increased after the Vietnamese people's army's successes in North Viet Nam in October-November, 1952. The King came up against veiled hostility of the Assembly, many members of which did not conceal their sympathy towards the Issaraks and were reported to have encouraged students' strikes and bonzes' manifestations. Tension culminated in the assassination of several provincial authorities and finally the refusal by the Assembly to pass the finance law and inquire into the strikes and terrorism. The King vigorously reacted. He denounced a "plot," had several Democratic leaders arrested and proclaimed an emergency law. Once more the Assembly was dissolved (January 13) and a new Cabinet formed (January 25).

In order to recapture the people's support, Norodom Sihanouk tried to win full independence for his country. He left Phnom Penh for Paris on February 9, 1953. But the French government manifested no haste to conclude new agreements. When the Lao Issara, led by Prince Souphanouvong, with Victnamese assistance, launched an attack against Samneua (April 13), the Khmer King, losing all patience, left for Washington.

The stopping of operations in Laos lessened the international tension. To reduce its expenditure, the French Government decided, on May 9, 1953, on a unilateral devaluation of the Indo-Chinese piastre, reduced from 17 to 10 francs. The Associated States which had not been consulted, made strong protests against this "flagrant violation of the Pau agreement," but in vain. Norodom Sihanouk took refuge in Bangkok. The embarrassed Thai Cabinet denied him the right to constitute a government in exile. So he crossed back over the border and installed himself in Siemreap, a sector exclusively controlled by the Khmer royal army. He issued a general mobilization order and proclaimed he would rally the Viet Minh if his claims were not satisfied.

In Paris, however, after the longest crisis in the history of the IVth Republic, the Laurel Cabinet was constituted. Under American pressure, carrying out the slogan of the new Republican Administration, "Let Asians fight Asians" and being promised further aid of 385 million dollars, the French Government stated its "readiness to achieve the independence and sovereignty of the Associated States." Laborious bilateral talks began. Cambodia rather quickly obtained satisfaction in the judicial sphere with the suppression of the joint courts. But two months of negotiation were necessary to attain the October 17 military agreement. By this, Norodom Sihanouk takes territorial command over the whole country, operational command over the Mekong right bank sectors, and incorporation in his army of 7 Khmer battalions once with the French Expeditionary Force. Three French battalions were left on the Mekong left bank to control the Saigon-Laos strategic road, General de Langlade's Headquarters was dissolved and the general detailed to Saigon—300 French officers remained as cadres for the Khmer army, which will include 11 battalions and 34 companies.

On November 8, the King, raised to the dignity of "national hero" by the government, returned to his capital Phnom Penh. Almost immediately he had to face a new ministerial crisis brought about by Premier Penn Outh's resignation. Indeed the King's absence for more than 4 months had involved a division of power between Siemreap and Phnom Penh. The Democrats, eliminated from government since 18 months, remained hostile. Thirdly the French troops' departure leave the most intransigent nationalists a clear field, since all attempts to reconcile Son Ngoc Thanh have failed. To take again in hand the direction of oublic affairs, Norodom Sihanouk appointed as Premier Chann Ak, one of his private advisers and as ministers, Democrat leaders. "Cambodia", he says, "must eradicate Communism". Once more the elections are postponed, sine die.

Indeed, Cambodia's fate is settled outside its frontiers.

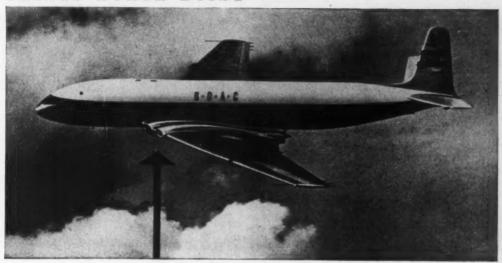
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STOCKTAKING IN BURMA

By Maung Maung (Rangoon)

BURMA has just celebrated her sixth anniversary of independence, and this is perhaps the appropriate time to look back and take stock of the situation and even attempt to forecast the future. Independence Day has been joyous—as usual—and there was buoyant optimism in the speeches that were made; our people are always cheerful and unsubdued, and that trait of their character must feature large in our stocktaking. A permanent building has been raised to serve as saluting base for the President of the Union on Independence Day and such other occasions, and the pock-marks and pimples of the roads around the building have been hastily erased or covered up for

the celebrations; at least the roads in that independence square will receive annual attention. The troops had marched past the President on January 4th, and a squadron of Seafires had flown past in salute, and there were the police and the girl guides and the boy scouts. Presumably, as soon as the parade dispersed, the troops were rushed to the Kengtung state up north where operations against the Chinese Nationalist intruders have commenced again, or to the Tenassarim area where those Chinese troops have combined with Karen and Mon rebels against the government, or to the middle of Burma where the Communists are fighting their last-ditch battles. Presumably, the Sea-

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fires flew on straight after saluting the President to combat assignments over rebel strongholds.

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STOCKTAKING IN BURMA

By Maung (Rangoon)

BURMA has just celebrated her sixth anniversary of independence, and this is perhaps the appropriate time to look back and take stock of the situation and even attempt to forecast the future. Independence Day has been joyous—as usual—and there was buoyant optimism in the speeches that were made; our people are always cheerful and unsubdued, and that trait of their character must feature large in our stocktaking. A permanent building has been raised to serve as saluting base for the President of the Union on Independence Day and such other occasions, and the pock-marks and pimples of the roads around the building have been hastily erased or covered up for

the celebrations; at least the roads in that independence square will receive annual attention. The troops had marched past the President on January 4th, and a squadron of Seafires had flown past in salute, and there were the police and the girl guides and the boy scouts. Presumably, as soon as the parade dispersed, the troops were rushed to the Kengtung state up north where operations against the Chinese Nationalist intruders have commenced again, or to the Tenassarim area where those Chinese troops have combined with Karen and Mon rebels against the government, or to the middle of Burma where the Communists are fighting their last-ditch battles. Presumably, the Sea-

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indeed a genuine government by the people can strike deep root in Burmese soil and flourish. In some areas, the danger is not the active breach of the peace by rebels but rather a settling down of affairs into a stalemate in which government and rebels have got into the habit of peaceful co-existence. This habit and these arrangements must be shattered early if they are not to burrow deep and divide the country permanently. There is a free press in Burma, and the expression of opinion is unhampered. Increasingly, popular opinion is finding a voice in Parliament, and it may be hoped that the next elections will bring forth an organised constitutional opposition. In international affairs,

Burma's policy of neutrality in the cold war has not lost or gained her friends. This is the policy she must maintain to keep out of power conflicts, and to keep her self-respect and dignity. Burma's complaint to the United Nations against the Kuomintang troops within her borders has received sympathetic hearing, and under UN auspices some 2,000 of the troops have been withdrawn. True, most of the troops were young boys and invalids carrying unserviceable weapons, but Burma was glad to be rid of them.

It does appear likely that Burma will still be here to celebrate her next Independence Day and many more Days; that, in the circumstances, is in itself no mean achievement.

World Veterans Aid S.E. Asian Disabled

By Philip Marshall

A FTER American fighters had swept in low to strafe the airfield on Morotai, Japanese-held island in the North Muluccas group, in the summer of 1944, Monutu lay on the ground, his right leg smashed by machine-gun bullets.

Monutu, pressed into forced labour by the Japanese invaders, came out of their Army hospital a few weeks later to face life, already hard, made harder by the loss of his leg. For eight years he limped around, first with the aid of crutches and later with a rough artificial limb fashioned with his own hands.

Early last year he started on a long journey with a new life at the end of it. By native canoe and small trading vessels plying between the islands—there are 1,500 of them spread over thousands of square miles in the Indonesian Archipelago—Monutu set off for the rehabilitation centre for the disabled at Surakarta, Java. It was the one nearest to his home, but the journey took him three months—it was 1,500 miles away.

Here, Monutu came under the care of Dr. R. Soeharso, whose post-war pioneer work at the Solo Centre has given a new life to hundreds of handicapped men.

In the year that followed he was fitted with an artificial limb and trained to use it. In the workshops attached to the Centre he was given vocational training to restore his confidence in himself and to enable him to earn a living.

The case of Monutu shows the problems of time and distance which have to be overcome in South-East Asia before rehabilitation treatment can even be started, always supposing that it is available, which it seldom is.

Solo can handle 300 patients at a time for a course of treatment which usually lasts a year, but the waiting list always numbers as many thousands.

Last month, plans which will bring new hope to the disabled, particularly those in South-East Asia, were set out in concrete form at The Hague, where the World Veterans Federation—"The World Parliament of Ex-Servicemen"—held their fourth General Assembly.

Representatives from 114 ex-service groups in 22 countries who are members of the WVF, assisted by the

Federation's expert panel of rehabilitation consultants—among them Dr. Soeharso—settled the details of a number of projects to aid the handicapped.

An important new proposal which was approved, and will be transmitted to the United Nations as a blue-print for action, is a "Universal Declaration of Rights for the Disabled," intended to supplement UN's Declaration of Human Rights.

The Declaration calls for equal opportunity of treatment for the war-maimed in every land in order that all should have the same chance of care and treatment to enable them to lead full lives on equal terms with other men

Mr. Elliott H. Newcomb, the WVF Secretary General, who recently toured India and Pakistan to survey existing rehabilitation facilities, and to estimate at first hand the size of the problem, pointed out at The Hague that many people assume that the problem of the disabled has been solved, seven years after the end of World War Two.

"The fact is," he declared, "that millions of handicapped people still lack even the most basic physical or psychological needs. There are more than five million disabled in WVF member nations, many of whom suffer needlessly because of the lack of public conscience, a lack of inter-governmental equipment, and a lack of modern equipment."

As a positive step towards bringing aid to South-East Asia, the World Veterans Federation is holding discussions with the Indian Government, the United Nations Rehabilitation Division, and the World Health Organisation on the possibility of setting up a regional demonstration and rehabilitation centre for the physically handicapped in Bombay.

The centre would provide rehabilitation services of a permanent nature for disabled veterans and other handicapped people in India; training for rehabilitation personnel for the whole of the South and South-East Asian region; and a pilot scheme to serve as a basis for similar centres elsewhere in Asia.

Another scheme is for the holding of prosthetics courses in Pakistan in English for South and South-East Asia. The Federation is also considering a proposal from the All-India Gurkhas Association for the granting of a fellowship for the training in Europe of one of their officials in social work.

Already the Federation has organised study tours of rehabilitation centres in Britain for Indian and Malayan veterans' leaders, as well as exchange visits between representatives of many member countries. A survey team is also to be sent to investigate the setting up of a centre on similar lines to the Bombay project at Kumasi on the Gold Coast. Ex-servicemen's groups in India, Pakistan and the Philippines are members of the World Veterans Federation, and there were observers from non-member organisations in Malaya and Thailand at The Hague Assembly.

Both India and Pakistan are more fortunate than most South-East Asian countries in having at their disposal large sums of money to aid their veterans. In 1942 the Indian Government decided to contribute 2 rupees (about 4s.) for every soldier for each month of service for the benefit of the men when they returned to civilian life. By the end of the war the fund had risen to more than £13,000,000. When India was partitioned in 1947, the Indian Government divided the fund among the States in proportion to their contributions

General M. Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, succeeded early in 1953 in getting most of the money back from the States comprising the new country and placing it in a Post-War Reconstruction Fund.

The building up of a comprehensive rehabilitation service is a long, painstaking ask in which finance, although an important item, is not the only consideration. A relatively backward country is unable quickly to train large numbers of highly skilled personnel and to obtain in quantity a wide variety of specialist equipment which a full-scale service demands.

Besides this fundamental difficulty in relation to rehabilitation schemes, Pakistan and India were faced with another problem: the trust agreement under which the money was handed over to the States stipulated that it should be used for the benefit of World War Two veterans "within their lifetime." For these two reasons, both countries are concentrating on short-term projects which, while giving tangible help in various forms to large numbers of former fighting men, leave much to be done in the field of rehabilitation.

Many of these are admirable. One remarkable Pakistani undertaking is the building of a mill at Kala, to be known as the Fauji Textile Mill, which will employ 4,000 veterans. A nucleus of 300 spinners and other skilled workers is already being trained under Army auspices

In India a great deal of money is being spent on scholarships, the setting up of homecraft training centres, the provision of home-workers with materials, and in alleviating distress resulting from low war pensions.

It is by providing assistance in the rehabilitation field that the World Veterans Federation plans to play a major rôle in South-East Asia.

The cornerstone of the Federation's rehabilitation pro-

gramme is the belief that it is the basic responsibility of each country to provide for the rehabilitation of its physically and mentally handicapped veterans.

The Federation has resources but not sufficient to finance ambitious and costly schemes. Its aim is to stimulate community conscience in countries which do not provide adequate rehabilitation facilities, and to help those countries which are seeking to provide them, but are thwarted by technical difficulties.

To provide this assistance, training courses have been organised by the Federation, professional consultants have been sent to guide trainees in adapting what they have learned to local needs, and assistance given in establishing permanent rehabilitation centres which can also be used for training further personnel.

Help in providing a permanent centre takes one of three forms: technical advice and fellowships, grants in aid, and the provision of basic equipment

To underline the vital importance they attach to this side of their work, the Federation this year instituted a Rehabilitation Prize, to be awarded annually to the practitioner making the greatest contribution.

The first recipient was Dr. Ludwig Guttmann, director of the National Spinal Injuries Centre at Stoke Mandeville, England, and initiator of the Olympic Games for Paraplegics, in which teams from nine countries participated this year, four of them with the financial and organisational support of the Federation.

Dr. Guttmann, whose revolutionary treatment has rescued hundreds from what he calls "the human scrap heap," and made Britain the world centre for the rehabilitation of sufferers from spinal injuries, is a member of the WVF panel of expert rehabilitation consultants.

Other members are Dr. Howard A. Ruck, director of the New York University Bellevue Medical Centre's Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation; Dr. Henry Kessler, Rehabilitation Consultant to the United Nations, who has made a number of study tours in South-East Asia; Professor Niilo Maki, chief psychologist of the Institute for the Rehabilitation of Brain-Injured Veterans in Finland; Lt.-Col. Dr. Charles Abadie, chief of the Limbfitting Service, French Ministry of Veterans Affairs; and Lt.-Col. Dr. J. L. Labrousse, chief medical officer of the French National War Invalids Institution.

With Group Captain C. J. S. O'Malley, CBE, the RAF rehabilitation pioneer, who is one of the rehabilitation advisers to the Federation, these experts in the three years that the WVF has been in existence have visited many countries to give technical advice.

The World Veterans Federation is the fourth largest non-governmental organisation in the world and has consultative status with the United Nations.

Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General of UN, has said of the WVF rehabilitation programme: "It is one of the best examples I know of the practical approach in developing those processes of constructive international cooperation that are essential in the work for peace and understanding."

ASIAN SURVEY

Japan

A Liberal Party plan for defence was placed before a joint meeting of the Liberals, Progressives and Japan Liberals last month suggesting that the defence arrangements for Japan should be strengthened under a programme lasting five years to enable the country to meet "direct and indirect aggression". The plan would begin at the next financial year and the aim would be to develop defence power to such an extent "as to enable the Japanese home defence forces to take over the duties of the country's defence as the United Security Forces are being gradually withdrawn". It was envisaged that after five years the ground forces would number 190,000 men, there would be an air force of 40,000 men with 1,000 aircraft, and a naval force of 35,000 men and 15,000 tons

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Korea

Syngman Rhee has been showing signs of worry at United States policy towards Japan. He said last month that the Communists were not the only possible aggressors, Japan should also be watched. It was up to America to prevent Japan from becoming a military menace. "We believe it to be very unwise," he said "for America to help Japan to become the strongest power in Asia." He then said that America needed those "Asian nations which have no aggressive designs" to help her in a Pacific pact against aggressors.

Burma

Earlier this month agreement was reached between Burma and India on the disposal of the former's surplus stocks of rice. Negotiations have been going on for a long time, and India has now agreed to buy the surplus—

estimated at about three-quarters of a million tons. The price to be paid is to be announced after the formal signing of the agreement. How to get rid of the rice has been a worry to Burma for some time, and disposal now will mean that only the next harvest will be available for export.

India

Because of a stampede towards the water at the start of the ceremony of Kumbh Mela at the confluence of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, near Allahabad early this month, about 350 people were trampled to death in the mud. The slippery ground at the water's edge caused those in front to lose their balance, and the fervent pushing mob behind could not be controlled. Besides the dead, there were about 1,000 people injured. Mr. Nehru, who had taken part in the ceremony a little earlier, visited the scene, and ordered an inquiry.

Pakistan

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, in a broadcast at the beginning of this month, answered critics of his recent statement made during his visit to East Pakistan on the language controversy. He knew that a certain section of public opinion in West Pakistan resented his statements, but he made it clear that those remarks "and the views I now express represent my personal views as a member of the Constituent Assembly from East Bengal, not as Prime Minister of Pakistan." He reminded his listeners that there were almost 44 million people in East Bengal, who constituted a majority in the country, and who appear to be determined to have Bengali as one of the two national languages of Pakistan. "Ours is a democratic country," he went on, "in which popular government must reflect the will of the majority of the people." They would, he said, be at a disadvantage if they had to conduct their business and official matters in a language foreign to them.

Malaya

The report of the Committee on elections, which was published at the end of January, recognised that a freely elected Legislature representative of all elements in the Federation, should be the ultimate objective, but that some of those nominated should be retained during the period of transition. The proposal of the

Committee means that the Council would comprise a Speaker and three ex officio members, 11 state and settlement members, 20 representatives of the scheduled interests, three representatives of racial minorities, and two official members—the last for the posts of defence and economic affairs.

Ceylon

The Indo-Ceylon Prime Ministers' meeting held in New Delhi from January 16 to 18 has resulted in an interim agreement on the quarter-century old dispute between the two countries regarding people of Indian origin in Ceylon.

According to the terms of the agreement, Ceylon has pledged to expedite the registration of Indians qualified for Ceylon citizenship and to provide a separate electoral register entitling them to elect a certain number of members to the Ceylon Parliament. The latter arrangement is to last ten years, during which time it is hoped the Indians would have merged with the permanent population. Persons who are not so registered will be offered inducement to register as Indian citizens at the Indian High Commissioner's Office in Colombo. Those who failed to get themselves registered with either Government will be arrested and deported to India. Both Governments have also agreed to take steps to suppress illicit immigration traffic between the two countries and also to hold close consultations in the future on matters affecting their mutual interests.

This agreement, which affects the future of 950,000 Indians in Ceylon, has had a mixed reception in the two countries concerned. Government circles and moderate opinion in both countries have hailed it as the only practicable solution acceptable to the majority of the people. It is viewed as a record of concessions on both sides and a step in the direction of a just and final solution. South Indians and the Ceylon Indian Congress (representing Indians in the Island) have. however, expressed disappointment over the pact. They state that several points in the pact are vague and nebulous and may be so interpreted and applied as to create greater disabilities than at present among Indian nationals in Ceylon. The Kandyan Ceylonese are also opposed to the pact. They claim the pact harms indigenous interests,

Burmese Reception

First of the Asian Independence Day Celebrations of 1954 was held by the Burmese charge d'affaires and Mrs. Boonwaat, and a very lively and friendly occasion it proved with a rather higher proportion of vigorous and serious discussion than is usual at diplomatic parties.

The Burmese ladies took the occasion to demonstrate that loyalty to tradition need not interfere with individuality and enterprise. Nearly all wore national costume and subscribed to the old Burmese custom of flower decoration for the hair on festive occasions. But they succeeded admirably in expressing their distinctive personalities. Not one headdress resembled another.

B.B.C.

Asian programmes of the BBC produced a number of interesting gatherings during the past few weeks. At the Hindi Radio Sabha, the star turn of the evening was a programme by visiting All-India Radio artiste Rai Shamshad Bai, who sang to her own accompaniment on the accordion. Five students provided amusement for their Indian and British friends by a light-hearted discussion on "In Darkest Britain," dealing with the tribulations and pleasures of life in British winter. Naseem Banu, film star daughter of Shamshad Bai and Rekha Devi who has recently been toruing on the Continent, took part in the programme, and there was a humorous sketch referring to the habits of landladies. To complete the evening a poets' symposium or Kavi Sammelan was contribu. by H. R. "Nirbhaya." Onkar Singh

Another noteworthy BBC event was the second anniversary of Asian Club. To mark the occasion the chief guest was Mr. Attlee, and the audience included representatives of most countries in the Far East.

Thai Architects

Among distinguished Thai visitors to London during the month was His Serene Highness Prince Voadyakorn Varavarn, acting dean of the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn University, accompanied by Nai Chalerm Ratanatasni, lecturer in architecture. They came principally to study the teaching of architecture in British Universities, but also visited places of architectural interest

London Notebook

including the Royal Festival Hall and Poplar Housing Estate.

Korean Reconstruction

In a lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society, Sir Arthur Rucker, Deputy Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, spoke of his profound belief in the obligation of member states of the United Nations to assist in every possible way in the rebuilding of Korea. He told the Society that UNKRA's aim was to help the Koreans to carry out their own schemes and expressed strongly his conviction that reconstruction must go ahead now whatever the possibility of a political conference or its outcome. The scope of the work must depend upon the results of a political conference on the question of the unification of the country, but in the meantime it was imperative that work should be pushed forward in South Korea.

Pakistan Women

The London branch of the All-Pakistan Women's Association made history in recent weeks by staging an educative exhibition of Pakistani goods at the Mercer's School in London. Members of the branch were present each evening to answer questions when boys of the school with their parents and friends returned after school hours to inspect the array of pottery, brasswork, sporting requisites, and other goods provided by the Pakistan High Commission.

Members of the All-Pakistan Women's Association and of a number of British Women's Associations head a talk at a meeting of the branch on the careers open to Pakistan women. It was given by Miss Salima Hussain, Assistant Auditor General of the Pakistan Revenue Department and President of the Pakistan Business and Professional Women's Club. British visitors were interested and impressed by the number of vocations open to women in Pakistan.

Borneo Expert

A vivid description of life in the little known hinterlands of Borneo was given by Mr. Tom Harrisson to the Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society at a recent meeting. He has been recuperating in England from

an illness aggravated by a long trek through the jungle when his plane had to make a crash-landing, but plans to return to Borneo this year after completing a book about the strange land on which he is probably the world's greatest authority.

Indo-China Report

The Franco-British Society provided an event of Asian interest early in January by arranging a lecture by Bernard Newman on Indo-China. As was only to be expected, they heard a striking review of the situation in Indo-China as seen through the eyes of a very experienced reporter. Mr. Newman was frank about failings he observed among the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians and the French, but at the same time he took a more optimistic view of the future of the Associated States than is sometimes heard.

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Japan Society

A Japan Society address this month, which drew a disappointingly small attendance, was a talk on the life and work of that remarkable character Lafcadio Hearn, given by Mr. Keith S. Bovey, formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies. The fortunate few who did attend heard a penetrating survey of Hearn's careen and the probable reasons for his absorbed and absorbing interest in the manners and customs of old Japan.

Colombo Plan

Mr. A. C. B. Symon, Assistant Under Secretary to the Commonwealth Relations Office, gave an encouraging message about the countries of the Colombo Plan area to the Royal Society of Arts when he spoke on the progress of the plan. He declared that the way the countries concerned had stood up to the formidable difficulties which had faced them during the past year was perhaps the surest guarante that the Colombo Plan would come up to and even surpass the hopes with which it began,

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Indian Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration, a pioneer organisation for research in the field of public administration in India was inaugurated this month in New Delhi,

The need for such an organisation has arisen out of the developments that have taken place in India's national life since independence, calling for an urgent review of the country's administrative systems and practices. The establishment of a Parliamentary democracy, the endeavour to achieve a welfare state, and the growing responsibilities and functions entrusted to the local authorities and community organisations have all created problems in the field of public administration, which cannot be solved without intensive study. Membership of the Institute is open to all who are interested in public administration.

The Institute will publish a journal and organise study courses, conferences and lectures. Its other activities will include the preparation of research papers and books, establishment of libraries and information services and cooperation with other

organisations.

Malacca Appointment

Mr. Lee Ah Seong, advocate and solicitor in Ipoh, has been appointed Municipal Secretary, Malacca. It is reported that this is the first time an Asian has held this post since the inception of Malacca Municipality in 1887.

Bhoodan Collection Target Over-Fulfilled

The Land-gift collection target of 2.5 million acres of land by March, 1954—set by Acharya Vinobha Bhave—has been over-fulfilled by 407,023 acres. Bihar leads in Bhoodan gifts with a total land collection of over 1.8 million acres of land so far. The distribution of 40,545 acres of land to 7,959 landless families has already taken place through the Bhoodan movement in various parts of India.

UNKRA Aids Korea's Textile Industry

War-damaged textile mills in the Republic of Korea will start production again, assisted by a joint rehabilitation programme of the ROK Government and the United Nations Korean Reconstruc-

The first shipment of textile machinery to be allocated under the scheme has arrived in Korea and has been handed over to the South Korean Government. Two South Korean companies have British specialists will supervise the installation and initial opera-tion of the machinery. The UNKRA textile project will bring tion of the machinery. The UNKRA textile project will bring into Korea more than 2,500 tons of cotton mill equipment, and will increase Korean production by 13,500,000 pounds of yarn

Pakistan Horizon

Published quarterly by the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi.

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ECAFE Meets in Kandy

The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which began its plenary session of February 8 in Kandy, Ceylon, elected Mr, C. C. Desai of India as Chairman for the ensuing year. U Tin of Burma was elected Vice-Chairman.

Before the session could take up the first item on the agenda, there was a debate as to whether the Nationalist Chinese delegate should be allowed to represent China, The issue was raised the leader of the Soviet delegation, who also protested against the presence of the South Korean and Viet-Nam representatives. India supported the move for inviting the Chinese People's Republic to the session while the Philippines suggested that discussion should be adjourned until the next session, adopted.

Increase in Japan's Population in 1953

Japan's population increase during 1953 was 1,100,000 which now makes the total population 87,200,000—the fifth largest popu-Japanese Ministry of Welfare. The ratio between Japan's male and female population was widened by World War II and is tending to become still wider. The proportions of birth rates and death rate between them to be the control of the proportions of the proportion o death rates between them last year were 105 to 100, and 107 to 100 respectively. At the same time, 70 out of 100 wives outlive their husbands. The average span of life in Japan has been estimated at 62.8 years for men and 66.3 years for women.

The density of population in Japan last year was 236 persons square kilometre, showing an increase of 10 since 1950, when the last national census was made. The Japanese Bureau of Statistics predicts that Japan's population will go beyond the 89 million mark within the next two years and will reach 100 million

New Dutch Translation of the Koran

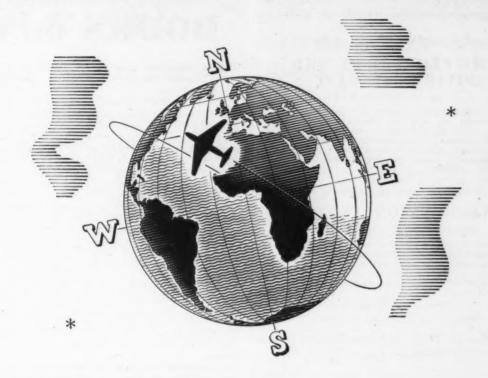
Until quite recently, the currently used Dutch translation of the Koran was one made in 1707, but according to the Ahmadiya Movement of Pakistan this translation was incorrect in many ways and "generally antiquated". A new translation, printed and published in The Hague, is now available. The first two copies were despatched by air to Karachi for presentation to the Leader of the Ahmadiya Movement and to Djakarta for presentation to President Sukarno.

Kabuki Dancers for America

The Azuma Kabuki Dancers and Musicians of Tokyo are starting a season this month in New York. This is not the full company of the Kabuki Theatre, which will be making an American tour later but a group consisting of dancers and musi-The leader is Madame Azuma, who comes from a long line of famous Kabuki artists.

Hoover Supports Anti-Peking Campaign

Herbert Hoover, a former President of the United States, has appealed for signatures to a petition against the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. He said that he had opposed recognition of Communist China by the United States and its admission into the United Nations "from the day the Communists conquered China four years ago". He added, Any and every effort that we as Americans can make to prove to our friends overseas just where we, as a nation, stand is of enormous value". The petition campaign is being organised by the "Committee for One Million", headed by Warren R. Austin, a former United States Ambassador. The aim of the Committee is to collect one million signatures to the petition.



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BOOKS on the

Tibetan Religious Art by Antoinette K. Gordon (Columbia University Press \$10.0 London: Geoffrey Cumberlege).

The advent of this book was awaited by me with some interest because it transpired to be the first book in English devoted exclusively to the subject. Unfortunately my hopes soon foundered. There is very little about the development, history or characteristics of Tibetan religious art in the book and even if it is taken to be a layman's introduction to Lamaism-if I may use this silly term-the book is frequently inaccurate and misleading. This is perhaps not entirely Mrs. Gordon's fault, since she has made the same fundamental mistake that Miss Getty authoress of the well known Gods of Northern Buddhism -did before her. You cannot base a book on Tibetan religious or other art on faulty objects bought in the sale rooms or in Ladakh or Hong Kong. Very few articles of real artistic merit have come out of Tibet. The Lamas have seen to that. A second important point completely ignored by her is what is to be defined as a Tibetan work of art. Mrs. Gordon evades this point by stating that all work is carried out by the Lamas. This is palpably untrue. In all fields of artistic endeavour a large proportion is in the hands of Indians, Chinese and particularly Nepalese. This is particularly true of metal casting with especial reference to religious images. A third factor that has had an adverse effect upon her book is that she suffers from that unfortunate American attitude that tends to over-estimate the importance of American collections. She devotes a plate and a page to the description of a piece of embroidery which is made of Chinese materials by Chinese hands, in China, and which has never been in Tibet. Does Mrs. Gordon really believe that this object is to be held up as a remarkable example of Tibetan craftsmanship?

Part of the text is devoted to a historical and descriptive survey of painting and images. Six short chapters deal with books and wood blocks, votive tablets and ritual objects. The most important branch of Tibetan art—metalwork—is only given two pages. No mention in the book is made of two real manifestations of Tibetan—as against foreign—art and skill—namely, the wonderful and fantastic applique work carried out in silk and coloured thread, and to the amazingly delicate carving in human bone, often of lacelike texture. There is also no mention anywhere of the influence of the Roman Catholic church upon the content and form of Tibetan religious art.

CHARLES BELLERBY

The Mountain of God. A Study in early religion and kingship by H. G. QUARITCH WALES (Bernard Quaritch, 35s.).

Few except specialists are aware that South-East Asia saw Older and Younger Megalithic civilisations, and that prehistorians have pieced together from survivals in culture fragmentary notions of the beliefs that inspired the builders. In isolation such discoveries have hardly more than a local interest, but now that the theory of diffusion has been rehabilitated and is again wielding its "sceptre of fascination" Dr. Quaritch Wales has attempted to correlate Indonesian and Indochinese material with material from

FAR EAST

North-East India and with evidence from China, and claims as a result to have uncovered an old *Asiatic* religion that, borrowed from the Sumerians, spread as far as Anyang in China and Quang-tri in Annam and travelled to Assam

and Java and the island of Nias.

The author's views are based on Professor Frankfort's theory that the Sumerians, regarding mountains as growths replete with the mysterious energy of nature, erected artificial mounds, like the tower of Babel, where their kings could approach a deity that personified those forces of earth. The sun or sky was left for the Egyptians to worship. And unlike the Egyptians, the people of Sumewere democrats whose kings originally were not gods, though elected for a superhuman rôle they tended to acquire divinity.

This Sumerian worship of earth, the author suggests, was carried to China in Shang times, where it persisted in spite of the earlier animism and ancestor worship and in spite of the advent later of the Chou deity, heaven or sky.

Except where Sumerian ideas were spread by Mongoloid races, India appears to have lain outside their orbit, though Dr. Quaritch Wales notes how Shiva was the earth god and his consort was Parvati of the mountains and the Hindu temple still represents a mountain, though one changed into a Meru to accord with a later planetary cosmology.

The evidence for an Older Megalithic in Indonesia was beyond dispute but owing to the vicissitudes of war scholars were long deprived of an article in which the late Mlle. Colani described megaliths at Quang-tri in Annam, megaliths that recall the culture of the Nagas and complete the area of diffusion, where (addressed though he often was as an ancestor of Shiva or Vishnu) the Sumerian earth god of the mountain has been invoked as the supreme deity, or so Dr. Quaritch claims, pointing out how generally the religious beliefs associated with Asia's mountain pyramids and shrines are as remote from animism and ancestor worship as they are from Hinduism.

It is too early yet to decide if such views are tenable. If they are, then Dr. Quaritch Wales will have to his credit a startling discovery. If its conclusions are not accepted, still this book is calculated to fertilize further research, just as the clod that the Chinese emperor took from his sacred mound and presented to a vassal was calculated to fertilize fields as yet untilled.

R. O. WINSTEDT

Nehru, the Lotus Eater from Kashmir by D. F. KARAKA (Derek Verschoyle, 10s.).

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On the dust jacket of this volume are two portraits. That on the front cover shows an elderly man, the subject of the volume, wearing an expression which might suggest that too much lotus eating is bad for the digestion. I do not know if the picture was supplied by the Indian Prime Minister's Secretariat in response to a request from the author or if it was taken in one of Mr. Nehru's moments of annoyance—perhaps during an interview given to Mr. Karaka—when he did not know the candid camera was present. On the inner flap of the dust jacket, placed so that it appears to look down on the cover portrait if you open it out, is the likeness of a young man, the writer of

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this book. It appears to be a studio portrait and pre-

sumably used with the author's approval.

Those two portraits give you the key to what the book has to say. It is a tale of Mr. Karaka looking down on Mr. Nehru and giving the world a digest of all the criticism that the author has showered upon Nehru's administration in the columns of his lively journal, The Current. I do not think there is anything startlingly new in what Karaka has to tell us. He has said much of it before and so have others. It is just the debit side of the account of the administration brought up to date. Nehru's temper, his dislike of even reasoned criticism, his strong likes and dislikes and their influence on the government of India's millions, his persistence in ill-considered decisions—these are all well known already. They are no doubt found in other public men in other lands. The trouble in India is that the government is, in all things that matter, the personal rule of Mr. Nehru and that in trying to be all things to all men he is not giving adequate time and thought to the matters which should be his main concern.

Though the author professes to have the greatest personal regard for Nehru, he is throughout the book making a personal attack on him. This is inevitable as the personal character of the Indian Prime Minister matters so much to the present administration and decides so much for the people of India. I feel, however, that, underlying the continuous barrage of criticism to which Mr. Nehru and the men around him are subjected by Karaka and others, is a deeper, perhaps a subconscious feeling that cannot be ignored or ridiculed. It is that personal rule is a very dangerous thing in itself. It may work for a short interregnum in the transition from one order to

another, and while the persons in power are well meaning, but it must sooner or later give place to rule based on a system and on clear cut political principles. If it does not the removal of good personal influences may lead to totalitarianism in some future period. Nehru's emotional appeal to the Indian masses, and the absence of any suitable successor, place him in a position of power where it is incumbent on him to develop rule by democratic institutions and to respect democratic controls even where they curb his own projects. Otherwise a time will come when, whatever the Constitution may say, a strong impersonal civil service will be just a memory and a multiparty political system an impossibility and only a generalissimo or a Mogul will be able to cope with the situation. BERNARD FONSECA

The Hostile Sun by Tom STACEY (Gerald Duckworth, 15s.) This book is the diary of a twenty-year-old and has no pretensions to be anything more," writes the author in his introduction. "I may have found adventure in mild situations and I may have slept through rollicking dramas.

All sorts of things I may have passed by and to others I may have given unjust stress.

After reading these candid admissions of his limited purpose, one cannot, one has not the heart to write a criticism of this book. Stacey, a Guards lieutenant, decided to spend a fortnight's leave from fighting terrorists in Malaya in looking for an anthropologist who disappeared in 1943 and who was reported to be still alive in the jungle. His journey took him among the Temiar, an almost extinct aboriginal tribe, many of whom had not seen a European for twenty years. He tells us of the

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people he encountered in his fruitless quest, of their difficulties when face to face with more advanced peoples, of the peril they face at the hands of terrorists, and their customs and superstitions and way of life.

Bandoola by J. H. WILLIAMS (Rupert Hart-Davis, 15s.).

Elephant Bill was a memorable book which gave the elephant an almost human soul in the view of all who read it and won for its author a place comparable to that of Kipling in the literature of the tropical jungle. One of the most interesting characters in the book was the great elephant Bandoola and the thrilling tale of how he led an elephant train up steps cut in the rock and along a narrow path with a precipice on one side during the wartime retreat from Assam made wonderful reading. Williams considered that this elephant was the most challenging animal he had ever encountered and we learnt enough about him to whet our appetites for a further volume in which this great tusker would be the main figure.

And here it is at last, the story of the elephant born about the same time as Williams himself which Po Toke. the oozie or mahout, decided to train using methods of persuasion and kindness rather than force. In this Po Toke was the pioneer of the new technique of rearing animals born in captivity which in the past had been left to fend for themselves and as often as not to perish when quite Named after the great Burman king, Maha Bandoola, the young elephant certainly showed that he intended to live up to his name, breaking away from his mother's leading strings at an early age and developing a very distinct personality of his own.

There are many stories in this book of recollections of life in the jungles of Burma, but through it all we have the tale of the most remarkable animal of all and his equally remarkable rider. We learn a lot about the ways of tigers, dogs, elephants and oozies; about the old jungle hands who had to find solace in women or the bottle; of the rebellion in the jungles; and of the author's own romance. It makes a fine narrative, well written by a man who was completely under the spell of the strange animal world

in which he lived for many years.

L. K.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE magazines to hand this month are variously assorted and cover a diverse range of subjects. There should be particular mention of two special numbers. First, the September-October issue of France-Asie, published in Saigon, is devoted entirely to appreciations and reminiscences of the late René Grousset, a great authority on Asia, director of the Cernuschi Museum in Paris and author of a number of learned books on the Far East, the most recent of which was The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire. He died in the late summer of 1952, and France-Asie has gathered articles about him and his work from friends, colleagues and acquaintances not only from France, but from Viet Nam, Cambodia, India, Japan, Switzerland, Belgium and the United States.

The other special issue to appear recently was the 25th Birthday Number of *The Listener* (London). Although its function is primarily to reproduce BBC talks in print, it has, over the years, become a leading weekly journal in Britain. It originally started as an adult education venture, but that crusade was soon dropped. It has contained, during its quarter of a century, some of the most crudite material to appear in print for general consumation and has contributed greatly to the discussion of Asia sumption, and has contributed greatly to the discussion of Asian affairs by publishing the most important broadcasts delivered on this subject.

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The January issue of Tropical Agriculture appears in a new format, and is now published by Butterworths Scientific Publications. It is a well produced magazine and, although it will appeal mainly to the specialist, occasionally contains an article of more general interest. This issue has one on pepper article of more general interest. Ihis issue has one on pepper culture, with special reference to Sarawak, by Stewart Blacklock, in which we learn the differences between the two main types of pepper: *Piper Nigrum*, and *Piper Longum*, and how they are grown and treated. The historical background is interesting, but the author does not make the most important point that pepper was one of the main reasons for Europe's original encroachment on the continent of Asia.

An article called "Island Partner", in the January issue of the Australian and New Zealand Bank's Quarterly Survey, discussess the possibilities resultant upon a balanced and complementary development of New Guinea and Australia. Each region, says the article. is capable of supplying some products which the other lacks and it goes on to survey the materials which are not available from Australia's production which New Guinea could supply to aid the former's growth, The range of products, from petroleum and rubber, to tea, coffee, tin and aluminium, is astonishing. The argument is very convincing.

Muslim Sunrise (Vol. XXV, No. 3, 1953—Washington, U.S.) contains an article on the significance of I'd-ul-Azha by Imam Zahur Ahmad Bajwa (of London) which is interesting also to non-Muslims. The festival of sacrifices commemorates the unfaltering acceptance by Abraham of God's demand for the costliest offering, and Abraham's recognition of God's right to make it.

So much interest was aroused by an article on the Bhoodan movement in India by Dr. B. Gokhale, printed in Socialist Commentary (London) last year, that the magazine has, in its January issue, another by the same author on the same subject. By October, 1953, Vinobha Bhave had collected over two million acres for distribution among peasants. "Vinobha is confident," says the author, "that given the necessary helpers, it will not be impossible to reach the target of fifty million acres by 1958." There is no doubt that as Dr. Gokhale says the collection of the There is no doubt that, as Dr. Gokhale says, the collection of that amount of land without the spending of one rupee or the shedding of a single drop of blood, is epic in character.

The magazine of the Italian Geographic and Military Institute, L'Universo maintains its high standard of articles on Asia with one in the November-December issue of 1953, on the economy and future outlook of Pakistan.

The Central Asian Review is a new quarterly published by the Central Asian Research Centre, in association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford. which tries to present an objective Antony's College, Oxford, which tries to present an objective picture of current political, social and material developments in the five republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirghizia as they are revealed in local publications. Positive achievements and shortcomings are represented in the same proportion and with the same degree of emphasis as they are represented in the local press and official publications. No effort is made to evaluate the accuracy of the Soviet publications. which are quoted, but extra explanations and background information are provided when necessary.

A CONTINENT DIVIDED

By J. W. T. Cooper

T is over six years since the British left the Indian sub-continent and two new and potentially powerful countries came into existence. How have they fared, internally, externally and in relation to each other? The atmosphere of world tension in which India and Pakistan have grown up cannot be said to have been ideal for passing their formative years. India's endeavour to maintain a balance, in a very unbalanced world, in order to create a stable economy has brought accusation from time to time both from America and Russia that she was hitched to one or the other. Out of the administrative chaos left behind by the hurried British departure, both states have moulded comprehensive governments. It is more true of Pakistan than of India that the Government is still an administrative organ—a governing civil service, so to speak, but it was essential for both countries that they started their selfgoverning with a strong basis of administration at the

Pakistan and India have achieved a vast amount in social advancement, industrial projects and agriculture, in a comparatively short while. But there remain some great problems to be resolved. Lord Birdwood, in his recently published book* on India and Pakistan, brings a critical mind to bear on what has been achieved and the obstacles which confront both countries. He was in India and in Pakistan during the early formative period and his generous opinions and usually sound judgement have resulted in a well balanced analysis of the situation in the

sub-continent.

Once partition had become a reality in 1947 no one really believed that there would, in the discernible future, again be a reunification under one government. The least that could be hoped was that the two new Asian countries would live amicably side by side and find no cause to drift away from each other. They have, of course, so much in common; they were, and are, complementary to each "If ever there were two countries whose economies were completely interlocked," says Lord Birdwood, "they are India and Pakistan, the one urgently requiring raw materials for her young industries, the other crying out for rice and wheat for her starving millions." psychological reaction, elusive, and almost impossible to define, against the fund of fervent good will towards the two new Dominions may have played a part in the almost immediate onset of bad feeling between them. seems no doubt whatsoever that the troubled relations between India and Pakistan are a hindrance to the progress of both in every way. Lord Birdwood constantly arrives at this conclusion. He and his family have had long experience of India, and he has great admiration and respect for the people of the sub-continent, but it is clear that his enthusiasm for independence is tempered by his grave disappointment and unhappiness at the hostility which has grown up between India and Pakistan.

Of the progress already accomplished Lord Birdwood has much to say, and one of the Indian experiments which has his support and approval, as it must have of all those

who have studied India's problems, is the development of the system of panchayat. One of the keys to advancement in India still lies in the village economy. This does not mean a literal interpretation of the Gandhian idea of a return to the spinning wheel, but as the lives of the majority of Indians are intimately bound up with the land, the greatest aid to progress "which these people can receive is an education closely related to their immediate needs." The author says that young men educated at English universities—also equally true of Indian universities to a large extent—are mentally removed from the environment and problems of the villages. India has done well to recognize, through her five-year plan, the usefulness of the village council: it is the foundation of the rural society. A large section of the agricultural workers is idle for a good deal of the year, and it has been argued that by an increase in industrialisation, surplus millions will be absorbed. "The function of industry then," says Lord Birdwood, "is not so much to create prosperity as to absorb a seasonal community of unemployed." But, of course, increased efficiency in industry means the employment of more machines to do the work of men, and mechanisation of agriculture, while increasing output, will cause unemployment in the villages. "We return to the dictum . . . that the villages themselves provide the way out of the dilemma. If village industries are developed side by side with the production of capital goods, the peasant will find that there is still useful employment for him near his home . .

A good deal of the book is a discussion of the armies of Pakistan and India, their function and organization. The author's long service in the Indian Army and his knowledge and contacts make him completely at home in this sphere. The armies of both countries, in the period of transition, assumed an importance that under conditions of amity would have seemed, perhaps, dangerous. As disorganized as they were, with units broken up and dispersed, both armies, but particularly the Pakistan Army, were the only reliably disciplined and administered organizations in their respective countries. In Pakistan pride in and reliance on the army has taken longer to subside than in India, and Lord Birdwood brings into the open a Pakistani characteristic that has been given scant notice. "An observant visitor to Pakistan," he says, "might well detect something of Prussian exhaltation in so far as pride in the Army and its status is concerned," and he thinks that had the Rawlpindi conspiracy been successful, the country "might have drifted into an era of military dictatorship" from which she would have found it difficult to extricate herself. Recent history has shown that Muslim countries are prone to military dictatorships, and we have the example of Syria and Egypt to show that Lord Birdwood's judgment is not necessarily wrong.

A Continent Decides is divided into three parts: internal problems, external problems (the least sound of the three parts) and an important part devoted entirely to the problem of Kashmir. Strangely there is no mention in the book of the Indian campaign against Hyderabad, or of the Nawab of Junagadh's decision to accede to Pakistan. The latter, particularly, was a fundamental issue in the

^{*}A Continent Decides by Lord Birdwood (Robert Hale 21s.).

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or an. the strained relations between India and Pakistan. Much of the Kashmir section is devoted to a record of the facts. He concludes, however, from available evidence, that the original flying of Indian trops into Srinagar in October 1947 to defend it from the tribesmen was not a planned operation. Pakistan believed it to have been an evil design to gain the initiative, and Lord Birdwood is right when he says that it is an example of the kind of suspicion which "bedevils the emergence of a new relationship between the two countries."

The relationship between the countries is not only a matter of concern internally. Since the emergence of India as an independent, powerful and cohesive nation, the whole balance of power in south Asia, indeed in the Far East as a whole, had undergone a complete metamorphosis. The opinion of Indian leaders is given increasing cognizance the world over. But the wise and valuable counsel so readily given by the Indian Prime Minister during the most critical period of cold war, has always lost a good deal of its impact in face of the criticism—not entirely unjustified—that before pronouncing on the conflict of east and west,

he should do something about Kashmir.

A great deal of the direction of policy comes from personalities. Just as Mr. Nehru, because of his Kashmiri background, has understandably strong feelings about Kashmir, and therefore influences policy, so the view of men like Sardar K. M. Panikkar and G. S. Bajpai, on India's place in the world, necessarily influences India's foreign policy. The impetus of policy, in countries with large unenlightened populations, most naturally stems more from the ideas of the leaders than the will of governments. Lord Birdwood says that the friendly relationship between India and China "may be regarded as the corner-stone of India's foreign policy." There is no doubt corner-stone of India's foreign policy. that much of the cultivation of that friendship was due to Sardar Panikkar. The mere fact that India and China are both Asian countries enjoying a new found freedom from the pressure of western domination (both in different forms, of course) gives them enough ground on which to strengthen their relationship. The author, however, thinks it has lost a lot of its initial appeal. He goes on to relate a fantastic story of a report on slave labour in China purported to have been written by Mrs. V. Pandit to the UN on her return from China. Mrs. Pandit denied she had written any such thing, or that what was supposed to have been written could have been written by anyone who had been with her in China, but Lord Birdwood concludes that as the New York Times's correspondent in Delhi reported it, and Lady Listowel commented on it in her publication East Europe and Soviet Russia, there must be some truth in it. This is the only incident in the book where Lord Birdwood's judgment is thoroughly in doubt. It is likely that Mrs. Pandit's diplomatic integrity would be less open to question than the journalism of the New York Times or the fanatical anti-Communist crusade of Lady Listowel. The conclusion is that people outside India are more anxious than India that friendship with China should lose its appeal.

The consequences of India's attitude towards Communism may not be all that the western world wishes, but as Lord Birdwood says in this book, India's view is "that the danger to economic progress and political freedom in the East is a revival of western imperialism, compared with the subversive influence of Communism is a poor competitor."



"THE SPRING AND AUTUMN"

Confucius' Representative Work

By Lewis Gen (Hong Kong)

MOST Western scholars' knowledge of Confucius is derived from the Analects, which, however invaluable as a guide to self-culture, tend to give an imperfect, and even distorted conception of the Master, since they are mostly brief answers made by Confucius on various occasions to his pupils, who took them down in their notes and finally put them together in book form several scores of years after the death of the sage. Confucius wrote commentaries for the Book on Change, edited the Poetry and Chronicles, but he was author of only one book, which is Chun Chiu, or The Spring and Autumn. In a discourse upon the ancient revolutions Mencius compared this work with the great achievements of the three illustrious kings by saying, "Confucius struck terror into the heart of treasonous ministers and felonious sons by writing The Spring and Autumn." Confucius himself says, "He who understands me will understand me through the Spring and Autumn; and he who condemns me will condemn me through the Spring and Autumn.

The name of *The Spring and Autumn* is, indeed, familiar enough even among the illiterate Chinese, but few people really know what it is about. Many even mistake the *Tso Chuan*, a classic commentary work of this great book, for *The Spring and Autumn* itself just as many young people in the East mistake the *Tales from Shakespeare* for Shakespeare's plays. The material of this book is taken from the history of Lu, Confucius' native country, covering a period of 242 years (722 BC-480 BC); but each event therein is reduced into a short sentence, very much like the headlines in modern newspapers without a single adjective or adverb; and it is so worded that his judgment for each event is contained in the assertion itself either directly or indirectly.

The whole value of this work lies in the judgment, but the judgment is often more hidden than expressed: and, therefore, it is said by one classic commentator that it was intended by Confucius that should the man criticised therein read it, he would hardly realise that he himself is the object of criticism. This is probably partly due to the deep reverence for the ruling house in feudal society, and partly due to the fact that the powerful men in those days were so intolerant and violent that even Confucius had to use discretion.

Moreover, as the subject matter is historical, it would have been difficult to understand why a certain action should be justified or condemned without knowing the historical facts. This defi,ciency, however, was happily overcome by the Tso Chuan (a commentary work generally believed to have been written by Tso Chiu Ming, a contemporary of Confucius) which gives us the principal events in great detail. There are also two other classic commentators, Kung Yang and Ku Yang, who help us to discover the hidden meaning. They derived their opinions partly from their own masters, and partly from the conclusions which they themselves arrived at by the method of comparison and deductions. However, on many minor points these three commentators are so contradictory as to render any attempt to reconcile them impossible; and this has given rise to three distinct schools of thought about this unique book. Nevertheless, the main principles in the book are so clear that no reasonable man can ever cast any doubt about it.

In order to understand this work, it is of great importance to

understand the peculiar technique employed by its author. The whole book was written in the most simple language; but to show his judgment, the Master depends chiefly upon the choice of names for subjects and objects. For instance, to designate the prince of a state, the name of Chow (a geographical area) is less honourable than the name of the state, the name of the state is less honourable than the title of nobility, while the title of nobility accompanied by the personal name is the least honourable. Indeed, it may be said that he who understands the appropriate use of the names in The Spring and Autumn understands the book itself. The differentiation is also extremely strict with regard to verbs For a refugee prince to return to his country, the Master uses "return" or "return again," "enter" or "enter again" to express his approval or disapproval.

However, the Master did not limit himself to the use of direct methods, and in many cases his judgment can only be determined when one event recorded is read in relation to another, or in the light of the basic law, of the season, or of the general rules Confucius laid down for himself regarding the recording of events. Thus, when the death of a prince is closely followed by the betrothal of his successor (the latter event being usually not chronicled), the impropriety appears readily by itself; or when we know that the natural order of succession is the established rule, it is easy to see that the mention of choosing and proclaiming an heir does not receive the approval of the Master; or, knowing that the summer is the busiest season for the peasants, then we understand that the mentioning of forced labour for public works during that period does not indicate his approval; or again, knowing that the death and burial of every prince are duly chronicled, we may conclude that the mentioning of the death of a prince without mentioning the burial shows his strong condemnation of the prince.

To understand this great work we further need a general picture of the social background of the period covered by the book. It was in the latter part of the Chow Dynasty, when the Emperor was already reduced to a figurehead. That dynasty was founded in 1134 BC by King Wu, who built upon the great achievements of his illustrious father, subsequently known as King Weng, with the assistance of Chow Kung, a great statesman of virtue and wisdom. He seized the empire from the ruling house of Shang, divided it into many states, and gave them to his kinsmen and followers who had helped him in making the conquest, keeping the largest portion for the imperial house. The feudal princes were semi-sovereigns themselves, who paid yearly tribute to the imperial house in the form of native products each of a specified amount and also contributed soldiers in time of war. received decrees and statutes from the Court, and carried them out with the assistance of their own ministers of state, of whom one or more were usually appointed by the Emperor. The princes of the four quarters went at regular intervals to the Court to pay homage, and the Emperor also toured throughout the Empire at four-yearly intervals, thus securing peace and unity among the princes. Indeed, during the early period of the Chow dynasty feudalism in China reached its perfection. It worked well for roughly two hundred years; and then some states grew bigger and bigger at the expense of their neighbours, while others were reduced to insignificance. By the time of *The Spring and Autumn* the authority and prestige of the imperial house had fallen very low. This brought in a period of chaos and confusion, in which war perpetually alternated with short truces, and grouping and regrouping among the states went on without an end. This is the state of affairs prevailing in the period of *The Spring and Autumn*, on the main events of which Confucius delivered his judgment, condemning, or justifying.

Some scholars in the West, as well as in China, seem to be under the impression that Confucius was an absolute monarchist. even an adulating courtier, but nothing is further from the truth. For, if it be so, how are we to account for the apparent contradiction that Mencius, who was the recognised successor of Confucius, should be so democratic in his views? But this contradiction will readily disappear when we come to the study of the book written by the Master himself. For to Confucius and the Confucian School, the objective of Government is to create such conditions as to make it possible for the people to live a natural, yet rational life of peace and happiness; and the king or emperor is but a part (an honourable part, it is true) in the machinery for that great purpose. He is to be the representative of the supreme authority and symbol of unification of the empire-two things essential for peace and order in any country. Indeed, he is to be reverenced and obeyed by all his subjects but only when he discharges his high duties properly to the state and the people. In one word he lives for the people. Confucius was certainly a monarchist, but he was by no means a blind worshipper of

The Spring and Autumn may be well compared to international law today, which deals chiefly with wars and peaceful intercourse between states. As a result of the long and unceasing struggle in this period for power and land, several big states emerged as the "covenant leader" in turn. They were Chi, Tsin, Chin, Chu, Wu and Yueh. As the central authority collapsed, war became the sole means of settling differences between the states. But as Mencius remarked, "Of all the wars recorded in The Spring and Autumn not a single one was righteous, though some were better than others." For technically speaking, no prince had the right to make war upon another. In the judgment of the Master the most heinous wars are those which are made for the destruction of another state, the next being wars for the acquisition of territory. There are two kinds of wars, however, which are justified by the Master, wars against the barbarians on the borders and self-defensive wars. Even these are only justifiable so far as it is necessary to reduce them to terms or to drive them out. As to military intervention in another state it is permissible when a state falls into great confusion and anarchy, but no advantage should be taken out of the chaos in the name of righteousness, nor is a wicked prince deemed worthy to punish another wicked one. Thus, we find in some cases the invasion is justified but the subsequent treaty with the defeated state is condemned. The book also takes notice of the various features of war, as border raiding, invasion, battle, siege and occupation. As soon as an invaded state is reduced to terms, war should stop and peace restored. But of the fall of states, Confucius also makes a distinction between conquest, "self-dying" and collapse. While state-destroyers are invariably condemned, those states which perish either through sheer corruption or lack of unity have only themselves to blame. On the other hand, to rescue an invaded neighbour state or garrison it against the menace of aggression is always mentioned with approval.

If the impotence of the imperial house is responsible for incessant wars, it also gives rise to various methods of patching up peace among the numerous principalities. This is chiefly done by conference, covenant and military alliance. By these they either guarantee non-aggression or bind themselves against a common enemy. The Master generally notes these with satisfac-

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tion, for they are the chief means of maintaining peace under the prevailing conditions. Many of the interstate pacts were indeed broken as soon as they were made, but some gave the empire 27 years of peace. It was really an unfortunate age for most of the princes, for the frequent conferences and wars apparently left them little rest and little time for pleasure. It was particularly hard for the princes of the small states. As often as the balance of power changed they had to shift their allegiance, and this seldom failed to bring retaliation from their former protector. Contrary to the conception of modern law between nations Confucius did recognise, though reluctantly, the law that the small state must serve the big states. But he did not favour forcible restoration of a feeble ruling house to its former power and grandeur, which would rather hasten it to destruction. Of this we find a very ridiculous figure in the Duke Hsiang of Sung, whom Confucius condemns by denying him a burial. prince, presuming to make himself the covenant leader, provoked several wars, until he was finally defeated and died of wounds received in the last battle.

Besides interstate wars and conferences, this book also takes regular notice of official visits paid either by the sovereigns or ambassadors of other states to Lu, or by the prince or ambassador of Lu to other states. On the occasion of accession and burial of the princes of friendly states envoys are also usually sent and received. On one occasion the princes met to decide upon the share each was to contribute to replenish the loss caused by a big fire in a neighbouring country. It is also worthy of note that a usurper is always eager to join an interstate conference or a multipartite pact in order to obtain the recognition of "the family of nations," for which he has often to resort to bribery. But one of the most striking facts about this book is that, while the ancient history of most nations chiefly concerns itself with tribal wars and court intrigues, The Spring and Autumn well deserves the name of the "History of the People," making the interests of the people its central concern. Thus, famines, droughts, floods, bumper years, indeed anything that is serious enough to affect the general welfare of the people, are all duly recorded. Even grand reviews of troops, grand huntings, and the launching of important public works are recorded approvingly or disapprovingly according to whether they are in the interest of the people. On the other hand, only a few things concerning the ruling house are recorded, being limited to the prince's consort, marriage of the prince's daughter to another prince, the death and burial of the prince and his consort.

Being conscious that this unique work requires life-long study, the writer has been careful not to let his own opinion slip into the interpretation. Therefore, what is set forth above is all generally recognised as the Master's main principles of righteousness, the controversial and minor points being left out altogether. As to how much the great ideal of Confucius is still worthy striving for we must leave it to the better judgment of the reader. But what the writer does wish to say is this: truth may appear in constant change when we take it in its external form; but having grasped the thing itself, we shall perceive that it is indeed eternal. For instance, it is said in the Book of Change, "He who can make the many go the right way will become the king." The very word king" sounds somewhat obsolete today; but more careful thinking will make us ask, Who has ever become a true national leader that cannot lead the many to go the right way? This work, once revered as the greatest book of China, is now generally branded as one of the products of the feudal ages; and out of that small number of elderly gentlemen who can recite every word of it from memory, few it seems, can think of it in terms of eternal truth or apply it to the modern world. But with patient and careful study we might still find it a source of treasures; and it is not improbable that the main principles of righteousness as set forth in this great book might shine again for many, many generations to come, if we can but interpret and understand it rightly.

NEPALESE SHRINES

By Ella Maillart

(Photographs by the Author)

HUT away from the world by the grim Himalayan mountains where only precarious paths are to be found, the independent kingdom of Nepal exists quite by itself in space and time. It is true that during the last four years several foreign technicians, mostly Swiss and American, have been called to modernise the country. But the Nepalese remain so faithful to their ancient customs that the Westerner who travels in that country feels as though he is allowed to take a peek into a wonderful living museum.

These customs are dictated by the two religions of the country, Buddhism and Hinduism. Not a week goes by without a festival, a procession, or a special offering to a shrine made by a man or a guild. It is said that there are 2,700 holy places in the valley of Kathmandu alone, which measures only ten by fifteen miles.

The Kings of Nepal are considered to be an incarnation of the god Vishnu, and when the kings are dying they





are taken to the very ancient Shiva sanctuary of Pasupatinath, where pure gold shines on the three wide roofs of the main pagoda. There I watched how, in order to perform their prayers among various pilgrims, the Brahmin priests, draped in scarlet, descended the bathing steps of the sacred river which issues from a dark gorge.

A calm grandeur pervades the place of the great slanting slabs on which dying princes are placed so that their feet are laved by the holy river as they die. Next to them are the great stone cubes where funeral pyres are built. There died Jang Rama. He was the famous Nepalese prime minister who visited Queen Victoria some eighty years ago and on his return proclaimed it unlawful for wives to commit suicide when their husbands died—but his three widows decided otherwise and jumped on to his

(Left) One of the many Hindu shrines in Nepal. In the centre of Durbar Square, Kathmandu, Shiva Mahakala is brightly painted. His foot is killing the demon; his many arms brandish the sceptre, the sword and the disc; his body is strung with a garland of heads. (Above) Chini Lama of Bodnath, with drum and bell. He is wearing a golden mitre and a traditional robe of Chinese silk and is seated on a beautiful Tibetan carpet.

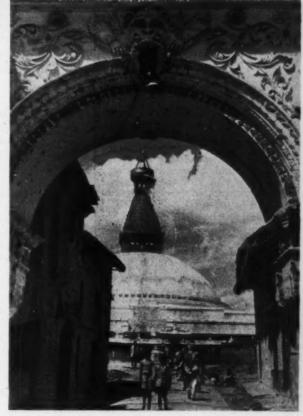


(Above) The famous old Hindu shrine of Pasupatinath, where the kings of Nepal are taken when they die so that their feet can be washed by the holy river Bagmati. In the foreground, little chapels built to the Shiva lingam. (Left) View of the entrance gate to the sanctuary of Bodnath. On the four sides of the square "toran" of the big Tibetan stupa are painted the eyes of the Primordial Buddha. The spire is covered with gold, topped by a bell and the umbrella symbol of divine powers.

burning pyre when he died.

Twenty-six centuries ago the Buddha was born near the southern border of Nepal. Soon afterwards Buddhism became predominant in the country, later to recede before Hinduism brought by invading kings. Two important Buddhist shrines are still flourishing. They are so impressive that it is worth visiting Nepal if only to see them. There one cannot but fall under the spell cast by the blue eyes of the Primordial Buddha. These two goals of pilgrimages are "stupas," huge white domes topped by a golden spire shaped into thirteen tiers supported by a square "toran" on whose four faces those blue eyes of the Buddha are painted. Immensely long streamers made of tiny triangular prayer flags bring movement to the scene.

One of these stupas is at Bodnath—built fifteen centuries ago by a widow and her four sons—which is the only Tibetan sanctuary outside Tibet. Its tantrik Buddhism is ruled by monks of the unreformed sect which is allowed to marry. When I saw the chief Lama I also met his two legal wives. While he offered me tea—English or Tibetan at will—he showed me a letter written in English by his 14-year-old daughter who was at St. Joseph's Convent in Kalimpong. She wrote that she loved playing hockey twice a week!



BY TRAIN

By Stanley Pearce

WAS young, inexperienced, and about to make my first long rail journey in India. My excitement was rising as I made my way to the train through the jostling crowds of Bombay's Victoria Terminus. After finding my seat, I sat back and looked out upon the station, which seemed in my imagination to be a city itself. How many tragedies and comedies would be unfolded, I wondered, if all here could and would tell their stories. The tall Pathan: perhaps he carried his worldly goods in the heavy looking bundle which he handled so effortlessly? Surely he must be waiting for a north-bound train to take him to his home and family? The dowdy looking European, perhaps Englishman, talking to the well dressed Sikh; perhaps he is the outcast son of a proud family, or have those stories become old fashioned now? So my thoughts doodled, drawing and erasing mental pictures as the eastern pageant passed my eyes.

In a few moments the clamour becomes louder as the late-comers urge the porters to hurry with their luggage. The officials scuttle backwards and forwards, the beggars raise their voices in last, desperate efforts, whistles are blown, flags waved, and the powerful locomotive pulls impatiently at its burden. As the train moves out of the station, I check my ticket for the sixth time and read again

the words "Bombay-Madras."

The train is soon moving so quickly through the suburbs that I can read the names of the stations only with difficulty. Byculla and Parel pass in this way, and then Kurla and Ghatkopar. I read in my little guide book that Bombay is built on seven islands, and wonder whether I shall know when the train crosses to the mainland. But perhaps the little book has conjured up too vivid a picture, for I have not stopped wondering when we have actually traversed the narrow coastal strip and have begun the ascent into the Western Ghats.

But my bewilderment is soon forgotten in the delight of this new and unexpected part of the journey as we pass through wild, hilly country. The bushes have sometimes advanced almost to the edge of the track, and in them, and on the wooded hillside, my imagination pictures the snakes and animals of Kipling's India. My companions in the compartment seemed unmoved by the scene, but perhaps they have travelled this way often before.

The train climbs the Ghats and begins the descent, twisting and turning and proudly displaying breathtakingly lovely views through clefts in the hills. Soon I notice that Poona begins to play a large part in the conversation of my companions, and I see from the map over the seats that it is our first large station.

At Poona it is evening. The clamour of the coolies is almost frightening, and there seem to be more officials and beggars than at Victoria Terminus. The engine waits, snorting its impatience and then, when the green flag waves, puffs a defiant smoke cloud into the glimmering sky.

In the morning the rural scene seems not to have changed at all from that which my straining eyes had seen before the fall of darkness on the previous evening,

yet the train had been maintaining a steady rhythmic pattern between wheels and rail joints all night. Quickly the early morning freshness gives place to heat, and as the heat increases so my sense of time decreases, and my memory becomes a chronicle of events only vaguely connected by time, like widely spaced beads on a baby's bead-frame.

The train rushes on through endless, changeless countryside where agricultural methods have not changed in a thousand years, yet the poverty stricken life of the people seems from my train window to be exciting and romantic. The sun burns my arm as it rests upon the window ledge, and even the fittings in the compartment become hot under the touch of the sun. On through the heat the train cuts its way, and my mind is lulled into a passive acceptance of all that my eyes see. Time and distance become unimportant, and then forgotten.

My next reasonably clear memory is of the train's slowing down and of activity by the other passengers. "This is Raichur," says one, "we stop here for half an hour." The train stops and I step wearily onto the platform. The heat pushes in with an impression almost of physical force from the copper-like sky above, from the paved platform below, and from the white walls in front.

On the platform two refreshment rooms cater for the needs of Hindus and Muslims, but the flies swarm in both, apparently caring nothing for religious differences. Outside one, the Muslim strangely enough, a cow stands listlessly, occasionally flicking its tail to lash a cloud of flies into unwilling and droning flight.

As the train moves out of Raichur, I watch the bullocks kicking up little clouds of dust, like miniature shell-bursts, and I think of a fragment of a poem I had been reading recently. It was a hymn to the Lord of Rain, and the lines I remembered were:

"Thou, who with bountiful torrent and river Dost nourish the heart of the forest and plain, Withhold not Thy gifts O Omnipotent Giver! Hearken O Lord of the Rain!"

Truly, I thought, Raichur has not found favour in the eyes of Indra.

I am not sure now whether one night and one day have passed, or two nights and days, but I cannot bring myself to worry. I look from my window and see nothing but dusty fields, dusty roads, dusty villages. The stations seem to be getting more numerous; Adoni and Guntakal pass as milestones, and still the train roars on not heeding the stares of the kisan who looks up from his bullock-drawn plough, and not heeding the patient men, women and animals waiting at each level-crossing gate. Past the earthen ramps and the toiling bullocks we rush, with the engine seeming to sense the last lap of the journey.

Guntakal is replaced in my memory by Arkonam, and now we are nearing the end. The train rushes on; buildings become more numerous, and just when I think there can be no more land left we come to Madras. ıy

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ECONOMIC SECTION

Monetary Reform In China

By L. Delgado

RECENTLY published study of Chinese monetary conditions gives us for the first time an insight into the economic situation of Communist China.* The work is not the record of an observer on the spot, but is the result of an intelligent appraisal of relevant reports almost entirely from Chinese communist sources: it is to this extent "tainted" evidence. The author admits that communist official publications are at best incomplete and some times hide more than they reveal, while communist statistics have a decided political bias. However, objective reports from first-hand observers are not available.

Nevertheless, here is chronicled a near-marvel—the methods by which the world's record monetary inflation was cured in the space of three years. Our admiration for this achievement must not blind us to the fact that the solution is due to the play of well-known economic forces. No new monetary panacea has been discovered. The Communists cannot claim that it is due to their particular philosophy. More than anything, the well-known remedies were successful because of two factors completely unknown in Nationalist China—honesty of administration and the determination to see through the measures that were thought necessary.

The magnitude of the task may be gauged by the measure of inflation inherited from the Nationalists. In August, 1948, the general level of commodity prices was about 6½ million times higher than in 1937; by May, 1949, just before Communist forces occupied Shanghai, prices were roughly 8 trillion times those of pre-war. These figures are also a measure of Nationalist corruption and inefficiency. This hyper-inflation had reduced industrial activities to a standstill at a time when more and ever more production was required. When the Communists came into power they saw that the first essential was to cure this evil for, apart from any other consideration, they wished to modernise their army and air force. For this, industrialisation was necessary, and this in turn depended on price stabilisation. It was largely the horrors and injustices of inflation that had lost the Nationalists popular support. We may well believe that for these reasons the new Government bent all its efforts to establish price stability.

The Communists were able to profit from the mistakes of their predecessors. Late in 1938, the Nationalists tackled the problem by buying certain commodities at prevailing prices and selling them in local markets at a lower price. But the government had insufficient control over supplies, i.e. over one of the variants of the equation which would enable them to solve the problem. They then supplemented the scheme by severe price-fixing on the basis of original cost and reasonable profit. But this had no better success, for producers and merchants are not in times of inflation interested in original costs but in replacement costs: the result was that goods disappeared from the markets. In 1942 and 1943 other measures were tried—price freezing and rationing among others—but all failed because of

 Price Control in Communist China by Ronald Hsia, with an introduction by Douglas S. Paauw. (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.)

inefficiency of administration. One further measure was adopted which might have worked had not the political and the military situation of the Nationalists become hopeless. This was placing the currency on a silver standard, the notes being covered 60% in silver coin, gold and foreign currency, and 40% in goods, securities and warehouse receipts.

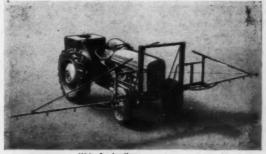
The supply shortage, on which the Nationalist schemes were wrecked, were attributable to the loss of the most productive and developed regions of the country during the war, a loss that was intensified by transport difficulties in the interior and by the Japanese blockade. Measures for increasing production included government subsidies to private producers and production by the government itself, while the distribution of a few essential commodities was taken over by the authorities, but the benefits that might have been derived were negatived by maladministration.

The Nationalists also committed the cardinal error of resorting to the printing press to meet budget deficits, thus sabotaging their own efforts at price control. The note circulation increased 470,000 times between June, 1937, and August, 1948, and a further 120,000 times between August, 1948, and May, 1949.

In the face of these errors by their predecessors, the Communists knew at least what not to do. They saw what has always been obvious to economists, though not to all finance ministers, that it was essential to increase production and to control the issue of currency strictly in accordance with that production. The steps taken by the Chinese to do this are well explained in the work under review: a mass of material, though all of communist source, has been examined and, so far as it could be, it has been appraised.

The first step was to increase the national output. This was effected in a variety of ways. Perhaps the most important was the establishment of a nation-wide network of State trading companies. Their function was to link areas of scarcity in any

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particular commodity with areas of comparative plenty and so establish price stabilisation. As the Chinese trading companies got under way, they obtained a greater proportion of the trade and thus exercised what they called price-leadership in the commodities dealt in. The prices so obtained were much more realistic, having been achieved through the inter-play of economic forces, than those imposed by government regulation which, if too low, drove goods into the black market. At first, these trading companies were established to deal in each of the more important articles in the people's lives—grain, rice, cotton yarn and cloth, salt, and so on—but later other companies were formed to trade in a wider variety of commodities—coal, petroleum, medical supplies, etc. By September, 1950, these trading companies had over 4,200 branches throughout the country with a staff of over 120,000, which is not enormous considering the size of the area

The degree of control over prices that these companies have depends naturally on the share of the national supply that they deal in. It was not until 1950 that their share was sufficiently large to affect the general price level. The supply of the companies is made up in a number of ways. There is a tax in kind levied on farmers which is turned over to the Grain Trading Company. In 1950, this tax yielded 31 million tons of grain of all. kinds. Another very important source of supply is that of the state manufacturing enterprises, while another source taps the output of private industry either by purchasing their products in the market or by placing contracts with them. In 1950, state trade controlled 90% of the total trade in salt, 70-80% of the trade in coal, 40% of that in cotton cloth, 30% of cotton yarn, 30% of rice and 20% of flour. By purchasing in areas of plenty and selling in places of scarcity these companies stabilise prices, but it must be remembered that the main object of these concerns is not price stabilisation but the increase of production.

Up to the end of 1949 the state trading companies were engaged mainly in the wholesale trade, leaving retail trading in private hands. But, the communists say, the self-interest of the latter led them to disregard wholesale prices as an indicator of retail prices; and the State trading authorities felt obliged to enter the retail field. This side of state trading has extended more and more in the big cities, specially for the sale of grains, cotton cloth and general goods.

It is interesting to note that profit, ranging from 3% to 7%, enters into the calculation of the prices set by the companies. The idea seems to be to avoid a loss, which would have to be financed by the Central Government, thus encouraging inflation.

A second method of coping with the supply deficiency was by stimulating the import of raw cotton. This was important because of the urgent demand for cotton goods: it had been a characteristic of Chinese trade that the prices of cotton yarn and cloth often took the lead in general price fluctuations.

Always with the supply deficiency in mind, a vigorous campaign for checking material was instituted, and this brought to light, and into operation, over 10,000 items of railway rolling stock (of which 3,000 were goods wagons), 20,000 pieces of machinery and 8,000 motor-cars which were not being used.

Communications were brought under review. The government invested a good deal of capital into the railways, and by mid-1950 the miserably low pre-war total of 32,600 km. of railway were back in operation. By joining distant areas, these railways narrowed price discrepancies. Drastic freight reductions were made—72% for electric material and 36% for cotton yarn, among others. Road transport is of negligible proportions in China and coastal shipping is still disrupted by the Nationalist blockade.

The output derived from the soil has been greatly increased by the new land tenures imposed by the Communists. The landlord class has been destroyed: it is claimed that agrarian reform had been completed in October, 1951, over an area containing a population of 310 million. Cooperatives have been formed and "mutual aid teams" organised. It is claimed that as a result of these measures the *per capita* output has increased anything from 50% to 100%. And these landed peasants can be taxed as the old land barons could never be.

In spite of all these measures, however, there seems to have been a certain amount of speculation by private traders, especially in areas where the State trading companies were not the dominant factor. The threat was met in two ways—by concentrating supplies where speculators were active and by obliging private traders to subscribe to bond issues (in 1950 these amounted to an equivalent of US \$140 million), thus reducing their working capital. At the outbreak of the Korean war, renewed speculative activity broke out, specially in the markets for raw materials. The State felt that it could no longer leave the cure to the relatively slow



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method of market operations, and took punitive measures ranging from warnings to imprisonment.

Increase of production, then, was the first line of attack on inflation. The second line consisted in measures for coping with the monetary expansion itself. The aim was to organise the budget in such a manner that there would be no deficit. But this was a counsel of perfection. There has been a deficit every year, financed partly by the issue of notes and partly by the issue of so-called Victory Bonds. These latter served not only to narrow the inflationary gap but also to reduce consumer demand. The deficit covered by note issue during 1950 was 11½% of total projected expenditure (as against 66.7% in 1949 and 80% from 1938 to 1947).

Mao Tse-tung seems to be a man of considerable acumen. He has not, by the way, swallowed at one gulp the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist interpretation of economic formulæ. His long-term view is that the financial problems of the State are to be solved by the economic development of the country rather than by decreasing expenditure.

Capital is urgently needed. With the capital-rich countries of the West closed to him, Mao Tse-tung has had to mobilise what capital exists in China. Taxation has been increased, chiefly from the new source provided by the State trading companies. Bank deposits have been built up—they had at one time dropped to 0.4% of the pre-war level—by the simple device of gearing them to a price index, so that their purchasing power remained constant. This revived confidence in this form of saving and large sums became available to the capital market. Another method of encouraging deposits was to make the holders participants in a lottery with considerable prizes.

This study has little to say on the effect of the Korean war

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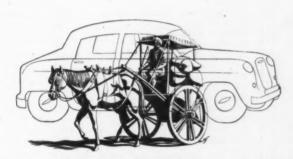
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on China's economic development. This struggle has led the authorities to limit, for the time being, the stimulation of production primarily by techniques of reorganisation rather than by the addition of capital goods. The State's investment programmes have been directed towards the development of the armament industry rather than towards consumer goods industries. Peace in Korea may mean some re-orientation.

What is happening inside China is important to everyone, and not least to Western manufacturers of capital goods and to suppliers of raw materials, to whom a prosperous China will mean overflowing order books. Let us remember that adding an inch to the Chinese shirt will cure all the short time and unemployment in Lancashire.

The study is preceded by an introduction by Douglas S. Paauw, who has summarised the work and added some penetrating comments of his own.



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DUTCH-INDONESIAN TRADE

By J. J. May (Amsterdam)

LTHOUGH the old political ties between Holland and Indonesia have been broken, nevertheless part of the economic relations have been maintained. It may be noted that Holland no longer plays a dominant part on the Indonesian market although the volume of business, as shown further in this review, is still very important. The present political climate between the two countries is far from being favourable, but trade prospects for Holland are Many all-Indonesian firms prefer to deal with Dutch businessmen and establish their European offices in Amsterdam. Just now 43 of these offices are established in this city. According to a recent statement of the Manager of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce for Europe, Mr. Soeleimansjah, most Indonesians prefer to buy Dutch goods which enjoy a very good reputation and traditionally are known to the public. As in all Asian countries people stick to old brands which they know to be good and do not easily change. The changed political circumstances caused some big Dutch business houses in Indonesia to look for other outlets and to transfer their offices to other countries, e.g. to India and Africa.

Trade between the two countries after the second world war has been characterised by a passive trade balance for

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Holland. Dutch official trade statistics give the following figures in this respect:

Trade Balance Holland-Indonesia

		(In	millions	s of gu	ilders)		
			Dutci	h	Dutch		
Year			import	5	exports		Balance
1938	***	***	102		100		_ 2
1947	***		196		133	***	- 63
1948			334	***	200	***	-134
1949			403	***	392		- 11
1950			510	***	300		-210
1951		***	755		402		-353
1952			543	***	439		-104

Dutch exports to Indonesia are shown to follow an upward trend in the period 1945-1952. Since, however, Dutch exports on the whole largely increased during these years, Indonesia's share in the total Dutch exports fell from 9.7% in 1938 to round 5.5% in the period 1950-52, as an inevitable result of the change in political relations. Over the period January-August, 1953, Dutch exports amounted to 197 million guilders, and imports to 335 million guilders. Dutch exports to Indonesia cover a wide variety of goods and included the following products in the period 1950-1952:

		(In n	nillions	of R	uilders)		
					1950	1951	1952
Total	***		***		300	402	439
of which							
Condensed	milk and	milk	powder		24.3	30.1	41.1
Flour proc	lucts				3.4	4.3	5.2
Chemical p	products				5.6	6.3	10.0
Pharmaceu	itical pro	ducts			3.6	6.9	3.8
Paint, varr	nish	***	***	***	3.9	7.6	4.0
Cardboard	, paper		***	***	5.6	18.4	22.8
Stationery				***	11.1	24.3	42.7
Yarns	***		***	4.8.8	6.1	9.2	8.4
Textiles	***				80.5	95.9	61.3
Iron and i	ronware		***		19.7	25.7	28.7
Machines	and electr	o tecl	nnical				
mater	ials				48.7	64.9	65.6
Transport	materials				18.3	19.8	66.4

It is the textile and metal industries in particular that have always found an extensive market in Indonesia. Cotton fabrics and machinery for tropical exploitations are examples of products that may be called Dutch specialities. There is also a ready market for milk products, cardboard, paper and products of the graphic industries.

Aware of the fact that Indonesia is seeking to build her own industry, Holland is adapting its export policy to suit these new circumstances. In the past this policy was based on the export of finished products; today, with the changing tide, the policy has changed to producing and exporting as many capital goods as possible, for instance machinery, construction materials, etc. Competition from Western Germany, Japan, and recently also from the UK, is very 54

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strong. The strength of the Germans does not only lie in their big credit facilities, but also in the technical assistance, the latter being of great importance to the Indonesians. They not only supply the machines but also the technicians and craftsmen, thus following the same trade policy as in India, etc. Just now the Germans are planning to establish construction halls and factories in Indonesia, and this at a time when the Americans no longer consider Indonesia as a "sound investment"! (cf. report of the National City Bank of New York). They also are extending shipping connections between Western Germany and Indonesia. The Dutch are fully aware of the German achievements in the Indonesian market, and are therefore changing their export policy by giving better credit terms to the Indonesian importers.

Dutch Imports from Indonesia

It has already been observed that the value of Dutch imports from Indonesia is greater than that of Dutch exports to this country. Holland is a big market and transit area for Indonesian export products. After the transfer of sovereignty Holland, however, has lost much of its importance as a transit area, which is a result of Indonesia's objective to enter into direct trade relations with other countries as much as possible.

Apart from a difference in quantities there has been no change in the variety of products purchased by Holland after the war. The principal import products during the last three years are included in the following table:

		(In	million	s of g	uilders)		
					1950	1951	
							1952
Total					510	755	543
of which							
Coffee		***		***	1.8	5.1	6.2
Tea		***	***	***	34.0	27.9	22.0
Spices	***	***		***	3.9	2.6	2.6
Ground nuts			***	***	17.2	7.0	3.9
Copra		***		***	139.7	241.4	81.1
Palm kernels		***			8.7	24.8	15.7
Kapok	***				7.9	7.2	1.8
Palm oil			***		55.1	85.1	58.9
Tobacco			***		34.7	27.4	32.2
Tussore					145.1	225.8	260.5
Fuel oil				***	2.4	4.0	5.5
Rubber	***		***	***	28.7	45.6	24.5

Tussore is by far the most significant import product, but for the greater part it is processed in Holland and then passed in transit to other countries. Many traditional Indonesian export products are now sold directly by Indonesia. The financial liquidation of the bulk of these transactions runs, however, over Holland.

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U.K. RADIO INDUSTRY EXPORTS TO S.E. ASIA

DURING the first eleven months of 1953 the total value of United Kingdom exports of electrical goods and apparatus amounted to over £95 million, whereby over one-third of these exports went to South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific.

During the same period the UK total exports of telegraph and telephone equipment, line apparatus for longdistance communications, speech input equipment and signalling apparatus, amounted to more than £16 million, the exports of domestic radio receiving sets and radiograms to over £3 million, and the exports of transmitters for public broadcasting and television, radio communication and navigational aid equipment and radar equipment, to nearly £10 million.

The following table shows the value of the various groups of goods delivered by the UK radio industry to South-East Asia and the Far East during the first nine months of this year.

				(First Nine)	Months of 1953)	(F.O.B. Value £	Sterling)	Radio and T/V Transmitters,	
			Т	Radio and /V Receivers and Chassis	Sound Reproducing Equipment	Components, Test Equipment	Valves, Cathode-ray Tubes	Communications, Industrial R/F Equipment	TOTAL
Hong Kong				17,980	36,648	26,882	82,293	121,173	284,976
India	***	***	***	91,522	47,960	487,165	137,508	567,469	1,331,624
Malaya		***		94,921	51,084	120,040	36,449	271,771	574,265
Burma			***	38,839	12,215	23,639	3,618	224,845	303,156
Indo-China				90	207	1,419	4,740	11,481	17,937
Indonesia				45,842	34,952	16,599	4,583	124,252	226,228
Thailand				90,124	50,333	25,315	10,313	18,672	194,757
Ceylon				431	14,977	16,781	11,807	16,033	135,312
Pakistan			***	_	3,611	50,265	50,619	150,639	288,533
Japan, Chin	a, For	mosa		79,353	84,499	34,220	71,385	81,977	351,434
TOTAL				459,102	336,486	802,325	413,315	1,588,312	3,708,222
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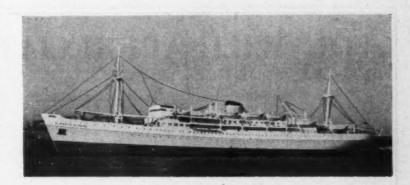




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U.K. COTTON INDUSTRY EXPORTS TO THE EAST

By A Manchester Correspondent

A COMPARISON of U.K. exports of cotton goods during the last three years shows that the total exports of these goods amounted to the value of only £121.7 million during the first eleven months of 1953, and that about 30% of this total went to South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific; while during the corresponding period of 1951 the total U.K. exports of cotton goods amounted to £195 million of which over 37% went to South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific. As the following table shows, the main decline of U.K. exports occurred in the Australia market (£20 million from 1951 to 1953) while a number of smaller markets like Burma and Thailand have shown some increase.

U.K. Exports of Cotton Yarns and Manufactures

			First elever	months of	the year
			1951	1952	1953
U.K. total exports			194.9	136.9	121.7
Incl. to India		*	2.5	3.1	2.1
Pakistan			6.0	6.6	1.0
Malaya		***	8.3	5.3	3.7
Ceylon			2.1	1.5	2.0
Hong Kong		***	2.0	1.9	1.4
Australia			36.3	14.6	16.3
New Zealan	d	***	11.8	8.9	6.6
Fiji			0.5	0.3	0.4
Burma			1.9	2.0	2.5
Thailand			0.4	0.5	0.6
Indonesia	***	***	1.6	0.9	1.4
Philippines			0.6	0.1	0.2
			(All	figures in £	million)

While the new U.K.-Japan agreement produced bewilderment

and anger within the Lancashire industry, a calm analysis of the agreement leads to the following conclusion:

If Japan, wrongly or rightly, has refused to balance the deficit of her trade with the sterling area from her dollar assets, then the present agreement which will lead to an increase of U.K. trade relations with Japan, was the only possible arrangement. The treaty clearly demonstrates, however, the weakness of bilateral trade systems.

If this agreement has removed the threat of a decrease in Japanese wool buying in Australia and New Zealand and may on the contrary even lead to bigger purchases, then Australia and New Zealand might be able again to import more Lancashire cotton goods and thus make good the decline of the last two years.

The agreement does not constitute an "actual buying" of Japanese goods but has given Japan an opportunity to sell her goods to the sterling area. The Lancashire industry has proved its great virility. Its strength lies to-day mainly in higher-grade products and the diversity of production programmes. It is psychologically wrong to stress its alleged inability to compete with other countries. The solution of the industrial problems of Lancashire is not to be sought in the exclusion of foreign competition from certain colonial markets but in the prevention of "unfair" practices by foreign competitors, by the insistence of better living conditions for Japanese workers (implementation of international conventions including those of the ILO), raising the living-standards of the population in the colonies (which would create a market there for higher-grade goods) and last but not least, in better planning by the U.K. Government and the Lancashire industry itself.

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Letter from Malaya from a Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

The reports issued prior to the Sydney Conference stressed that the question which is of vital interest to Malaya's economy, namely that of stabilisation of commodity prices would be among the main items on the agenda. It appears that the Commonwealth Finance Ministers have discussed thoroughly this question, but the Communiqué issued at the end of the Conference was silent on this subject. (The only indirect reference is the sentence: "The production of some commodities such as tin and rubber has been affected by fluctuations in world demand".) The plausible explanation for this omission is that the Ministers did not want to make a statement on this problem a few days before the publication of the Randall Report.

Now this eagerly awaited Report has been issued. On the question of primary products the Report explicitly expresses its opposition to commodity agreements, although it admits in very general terms that fluctuations in prices have a serious effect upon countries whose economies largely depend on the production and exports of these commodities. The Randall Commission does not believe that extensive resort to commodity agreements would solve the question of the instability of prices and declares that "such agreements introduce rigidities and restraints that impair the elasticity of economic adjustments and the freedom of individual initiative, which are fundamental to economic progress."

Taking into consideration the importance of "agricultural" votes in the US and the fact that the International Wheat Agreement of 1953 has been signed for a three-year period, it might be assumed that the US Congress will adopt a different policy towards "American" commodities like wheat and cotton, than towards "imported" commodities like rubber and tin. The possibility of the ratification of the International Tin Agreement appears to have become more remote than before the publication of the Randall Report.

In connection with the low prices obtained by Malayan producers of rubber and tin, the question of lowering the cost of living in Malaya is of utmost importance. The present standard of living of the broad masses of the population can be only maintained if the price index will be reduced. For this reason even the prospect of imports of some cheap cotton goods following

the new UK trade agreement with Japan is viewed here with some satisfaction. But the main problem—to be able to maintain the production of rubber and tin—still remains. Therefore, great importance is being attached to that section of the Sydney Communiqué which, while declaring that "we should not relax our efforts to achieve a dollar surplus" adds that "it is just as important to-day that we should earn a substantial surplus in other non-sterling currencies." The latter aim is an important departure from the policy of the past years, and is understood here as a signal to increase the trade with East European countries (developing exports to Western Europe was already the policy in the past) and with China. The following table shows the development of trade between Malaya and these countries during the last two years:

two years.	First 10	s Imports months of	MALAYA'S EXPORTS First 10 months of the year		
	1952	1953	1952	1953	
Bulgaria	_	14.600	638,400	765.968	
Czechoslovakia	5,400,375	8.870,474	32,725,115	22,055,879	
Hungary	387.973	3,952,656	1.971.023	946,902	
Poland	880,639	3.283.963	18,677,372	13.252,402	
Roumania	-	19,555	5.142.181	1	
Soviet Union	18,399	24.814	28,711,330	-	
	(all figur	es-Malayan	dollars)		

Thus it can be seen that Malaya had a favourable balance of trade with East Europe, but that it was on a small scale only. It is hoped, however, that with the liberation of the East-West trade, Malaya's exports to East Europe could be increased

Malaya's trade with China had an unfavourable balance of trade during the last two years. During the first 10 months of 1953 Malaya's imports from China were valued at Mal. \$92.1 million as against Mal. \$101 million during the corresponding period of 1952 (main items of import were various food products, animal fodder and paper products), while the value of Malaya's exports amounted to only Mal. \$23,500 during the first 10 months of 1952, and to Mal. \$3,213,712 during the same period of 1953 (the value of "vegetable oils" exports was Mal. \$3,206,235). The lifting of embargo on rubber shipments from Malaya to China could most probably alter the situation, reduce the unfavourable trade balance and bring at least a certain amount of relief to the rubber industry and thus to the entire economy of Malaya.

No Inducement for Foreign Capital in Ceylon

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

IKE other backward regions in S.E. Asia, Ceylon's greatest need today is the influx of foreign capital for national development. Much of this capital will have to be found by the Government in keeping with the nature and scale of the schemes contemplated. This will in no way detract from the vital role that foreign private investments will also have to play in the economic development of the island.

Ceylon has already obtained sanction to raise a Rs 337.5 million (£25 million) loan in the London money market. The Bank of England will handle the transaction on behalf of the Ceylon Government. Financial circles believe that, despite the British Government's refusal to give a guarantee, the operation, if shrewdly handled, should be a success. The sterling credits under this loan would be used for financing "revenue earning development projects" which would help to raise the standard of living and the national income of the country. Top priority would be given to housing schemes.

Negotiations are also in progress for a dollar loan of Rs 100 million from the World Bank for financing the Hydro-Electric Scheme (Stage II). A World Bank representative visited Ceylon recently and reported favourably on this project. It is understood that a decision on the loan would be announced shortly.

But both these loans put together represent only a fraction of Ceylon's present capital requirements for other essential development projects. The vast irrigational and land utilization schemes, the development of health, educational and transport services, the improvement of the Colombo Harbour and Ratmalana Airport and other public utility schemes all call for much capital expenditure.

While the schemes mentioned above are more or less Government projects, there are numerous avenues for private investment. The plantation industries (tea, coconut and rubber) especially are in urgent need of fresh infusions of capital.

Hitherto a large part of the required capital has come from taxation and internal loans. But there is a limit to these sources. As Ceylon is not inclined to obtain loans from foreign governments because of the conditions usually stipulated by the lender-countries, and as the loans from such sources as the World Bank and the London money market cannot fulfil all the country's needs, the only way to obtain the necessary capital is to encourage investments by foreigners.

It is regrettable, however, that in this respect Ceylon offers few inducements for the foreign investor. A host of discriminatory regulations and irksome barriers, well intended no doubt from Ceylon's point of view, only help to repel foreign capital.

It is an axiom of public finance that moderate taxation in a country promotes investments, specially by foreigners. The absence of discrimination and the offering of inducements by way of tax reliefs are part and parcel of a sane system of taxation. The policy pursued by the Ceylon Government, when measured in this light, is both excessive and discriminatory. This fact



becomes clear when we consider that under the 1953 Budget, the rate applicable to non-resident companies is 40 per cent while resident companies pay only 34 per cent. In the previous year the rate was 36 per cent for non-resident as against 30 per cent for resident companies. The foreign investor with a limited fund of capital and many demands would rather invest it in a country where lower taxation and fewer restrictions prevail.

The absence of a clear and authoritative statement of the Government's attitude to foreign capital is another handicap. Foreign investors would like to be certain that their money is welcome in the country and that they would be assured of reasonable security for the investments. An early announcement of the fields in which foreign capital investments would be allowed should assure a greater inflow of such capital in the future.

But by far the greatest deterrent to foreign investors seems to be the Government's policy of Ceylonisation or the policy of ensuring an ever-increasing and more responsible share of the country's trade, commerce and industry for Ceylon nationals. At present 80 per cent of the export and import trade as well as a major part of the commerce and industry of the country are run by foreigners, with foreign capital, foreign labour and foreign brains—a situation without parallel in any progressive country of the world. The Government's aim is to change the balance in favour of Ceylonese. Thus trade with certain countries as Communist China, Japan and W. Germany has been restricted to Ceylon nationals. The policy of Ceylonisation has also been applied to the employment of staff in foreign firms and to the import trade. Later the export trade and industry will also be Ceylonised.

The conflicting claims of the need for foreign capital and the Government's policy of Ceylonisation thus prevent a paradoxical situation. While the necessity for such a policy has been admitted by many, in actual practice it has been viewed with disfavour as the discriminatory regulations keep out foreign capital at the very time when it is urgently needed.

The dearth of capital is also aggravated by the withdrawal of foreigners' capital already in Ceylon. It is estimated that nearly Rs 40 million flow out annually from the country.

Not all the blame for the paucity of foreign capital can be laid at the door of Ceylon's economic policies. The policy of Ceylonisation is a natural aspiration following the attainment of independence.

The Government is only too well aware of the indiscriminate exploitation of their opportunities by some foreigners in the past. The danger of the predominance of foreign capital in the country's economy has also to be considered.

On the other hand Ceylon cannot delay her ambitious plans for national reconstruction and development. Ohly a steady influx of new ideas and the necessary capital can bring such schemes to fruition, and thereby relieve the mounting wave of unemployment and help the country tide over the difficult years ahead. Only a relaxation of the many controls and regulations on non-Ceylonese investors can assure such an inflow of investments.

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TRADE BETWEEN ASIA & EUROPE

By V. Wolpert

OLLOWING the decline of export prices of the products which provide the main earnings in the foreign trade of South-East Asian countries, the Governments of this Region are faced with the acute problem of how to balance the foreign trade and to implement their development plans. The Sydney Conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers, while acknowledging "the immense variety and intensity of the efforts which are being made to turn to productive use the many resources . . " declared that "in most cases finance is still the major factor limiting development".

The Annual Survey of the ECAFE (United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) for 1953, stresses the fact that the immediate problem of the countries of the Region arises from the fact that levels of export expines and of Government.

arises from the fact that levels of export earnings and of Government revenue will be hardly sufficient for the execution of State development programmes. The Survey adds that this problem may become even more acute during 1954.

Taking into consideration the US economic recession and its

adverse effects on the volume and value of Asia's exports, the development of Asia's economic relations with "non-dollar currencies" areas gains an even greater importance than in the past. At the Sydney Conference the Chancellor of the Exchequer called the attention of the Commonwealth Ministers of Finance to the expansion of production and the strengthening of the position of European countries, and the Conference emphasised the necessity of earning not only a dollar surplus but also "a substantial surplus in other non-sterling currencies

A recent study of Asian-European trade relations prepared for the first time jointly by the secretariats of ECAFE, the Economic Commission for Europe, and FAO, provides most

valuable information on the subject of trade between these two regions.* It "seeks to consider the methods by which, in a changing world economy, Europe can assist the countries of the ECAFE region in their economic development, and at the same time Asia and the Far East can help countries of Europe in obtaining their requirements."

The importance of the trade with Europe from Asia's point of view is shown by the following facts: Of the total imports of ten Asian countries (Burma, Associated States of Indochina, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Malaya, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand) in 1951 and 1952 Europe's share amounted to 30.3 per cent (including UK share of 13.9 per cent in 1951 and 14.7 per cent in 1952), being only surpassed by about one-tenth by the share of inter-regional trade (including imports from Japan, China and Korea), while the USA portion of these total imports amounted to 16.8 per cent in 1951 and 19 per cent

Of the total exports of these ten Asian countries Europe took in 1951 33.9 per cent (including UK share of 15 per cent) and in 1952 29 per cent (including UK share of 15 per cent) and in 1952 29 per cent (UK share of 13 per cent), while the USA share of the Asian exports amounted to 17.9 per cent in 1951 and 19.8 per cent in 1952. The inter-regional exports amounted to 34.7 per cent in 1951 and 35.9 per cent in 1952. Thus, Europe has provided markets for nearly one-third of the total exports from Asia and the Far East and has supplied about one-third of Asia's total imports. At the same time, as the

study points out, from the point of view of European countries the trade with Asia amounted to a much smaller part of the total foreign trade of Europe. Seventeen countries of Western Europe shipped between 7 and 8 per cent of their total exports

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to Asia and the Far East and obtained 6 to 8 per cent of their total imports from that area. The study says that the United Kingdom has been the leading European trader, generally accounting for one-half or more of the European imports into Asia and the Far East and for a slightly smaller proportion of the exports. Germany, France and the Netherlands have been the next important group, though the exports of each have been less than one-quarter of the United Kingdom exports. Italy, Switzerland and Belgium-Luxembourg have been next, followed by Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

The importance of developing trade between Asia and Europe is being recognised on an increasing scale and in fact, the study was prepared following the resolution adopted by the Seventh Session of the ECAFE which declared that "the programmes for industrial and agricultural development of the countries of the region require increased use of machinery equipment and materials, and Europe is an important source of supplies for such purposes", and expressed the view that "an expansion of trade between countries of Europe and of this region is therefore desirable".

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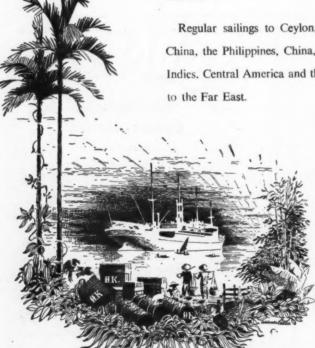
According to the latest Lloyd's Register Shipbuilding Returns, there were by the end of December 1953, 23 ships of 12,903 tons gross under construction for registration in Indonesia. Out of this total 7 ships of 4,716 gross tons were under construction in the Netherlands, 8 ships of 4,342 gross tons in Western Germany, 6 ships of 3,245 gross tons in Belgium and 2 ships of 600 gross tons in Indonesia itself. The Dutch shipbuilding yard of Janssen at Druten has an order for a series of six patrol vessels for the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and one of these ships, the "Bajan" was recently completed and trials were held.

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MODERN LILLIPUT DREDGING PLANT

THROUGHOUT the ages Holland has struggled relentlessly THROUGHOUT the ages Holland has struggled reientlessly against her enemy the water, and it is no wonder that in the course of that struggle Dutch people have gradually developed very efficient machines to help them in their efforts. The experience gained in this process has been utilised by the Dutch industry in her export-drive, including to Asia and the Pacific, where dredgers are required for construction and maintenance of capale as well as for work on plantations.

where dredgers are required for construction and maintenance of canals, as well as for work on plantations.

Recently the importance of the small and medium dredges which work, as it were, in the wake of the great machines, has been realised. The Dutch firm, B. P. de Groot, Jr. Weesp, is concentrating entirely on these small plants, which have found a good market in various countries. This firm builds a range of 30 standard models—bucket dredges with long chutes; bucket dredges with discharge pumps; suction dredges; suction-cutter dredges and gold and tin dredges. In addition models are specially designed to meet the wishes of purchasers and to adapt the machine completely to the conditions prevalent in the country where it is to be used.

to be used.

The erection of this modern dredging material is very simple; all models—even those of medium size—require little maintenance work and the running costs are low. They can be operated by one man and transport can be effected by motor-lorry or motor trailer.

trailer.

Besides the standard models, special exclusive designs are made upon request, such as quickly collapsible bucket dredges, or combined models such as a bucket dredge with discharge pump which can also dredge by suction. Furthermore, any model can be built in sections for easy transport by air.

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